1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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A. The Pattern of Village Life

•511 First of all, life in the farming village is meager. The average Shansi farm in 1946 was 6.4 acres; in the more fertile province of Hopei, the average farm contained only 4.3 acres.[1] Farm families save everything; fecal matter and refuse go into a pit near which a pig is kept, and at the time of spring fertilizing the material from the pit is mixed with topsoil or water and spread on the fields. Grass and grainstalks are carefully husbanded to be used as fodder for the farm animal if the family is fortunate enough to have one, as fuel for cooking, and rarely, for heating the house. Cloth is scarce, and clothing is worn until it falls apart; after that the rags are used to make the soles of cloth shoes. The shortage of wood for all purposes has long been acute, and farm buildings are made of pounded earth, mud bricks, or, in the loess highlands, are hollowed out of loess cliffs. Floors are of earth, and only the dwelling of the wealthiest farmers have glass windows. The dominant fact of life in the Chinese countryside is poverty. This has grown steadily worse during the last

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[1] George B. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, New York,1955,p.105. In his earlier work Asia's Lands and Peoples, New York,1944, p. 87, Cressey estimates that, throughout China, an average farm family of 6.2 persons must obtain its entire livelihood from a farm of 4.18 acres, of which but 3.76 acres are actually in crops.

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511 hundred years as factory-made goods destroyed village handicrafts, usury and tenancy increased, wars and ineffectual governments brought disruption and oppression, and overpopulation became steadily worse. "The most bankrupt countryside in Asia is the Chinese. The worst crisis of overpopulation China has yet had to face has been accompanied by a breakdown of traditional ideas and traditional authority so complete as to lead to a state of near anarchy."[2]

182 178 621 The characteristic way of life of the peasants has been slowly disintergrating under manifold pressures. During prosperous periods in the past a delicate balance of human and economic factors fostered a crowded, conformist, but on the whole harmonious village life. Recent decades have seen the old harmony replaced by tension and a predatory struggle for survival. And, despite the isolation of most villages, ideas and ideals from the West have slowly undermined the authority of the older mores and customary laws.

Despite all the fissures that have developed, it is well to remember that peasant life everywhere has a tremendous inertia, that it is incredibly resistant to all the forces of change. Thus much of the sweeping change that occurred in city life under comparable pressures did not occur in the peasant villages.

000 The main economic and social unit of the village is the family, and a special study is de-

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[2] Maurice Zinkin, Asia and the West, London, 1951, p.111.

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Th[illegible] county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
438 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

● 511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

000 villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities,
369 major industries built large dormitories for
466 workers: labor unions and political clubs de-
511 veloped as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays.
575 Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

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[11] Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

[12] Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

668 must liberate Taiwan." Theaters and cinemas
529 were crowded, and continuous and varied shows--each no doubt with its ideological message --were performed in the "Working People's Palace of Culture." Further innovations symbolic of the new order were an exhibition by Soviet skaters, chess tournament, the finals of the city soccer tournament, entertainments by workers' amateur troupes.[30]

668 The cities have been cleaned up and en-
511 larged, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[31] Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[32] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This
668 identification and the opportunities offered by
183 the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land

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[30] *NCNA* dispatches, Peking, Jan. 21 and 24,1955, and *SCMP*, 974, Jan. 22-26,1955, pp. 31-32.

[31] Rostow, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp.160-61.

of time worked during the year we have taken the workers' estimate of 438 the time they spent on home industry, reduced it to 10 hour days and figured the average earnings per day. The average number of full working days reported in the different villages varied from 81 to 190 for the males and from 51 to 190 days for the females. The top figures for the men and women were the same as they were for the mat weaving village, where no sex division was possible. The figures indicate that generally the males engaged in home industry worked an equivalent of between three and four months of full time days a year, the females between two and three months.

The amount of earnings per full working day showed considerable 438 consistency even though they had to be based on estimates. For the men 434 the amount was around 15 cents per day. For the women it was eight or nine cents per day, less than one cent an hour.

The total annual income from all sources was estimated to be $226,460. Twenty per cent of the income came from the profit on home industries. The average income was $185 per family and $34.20 per person. These average amounts were only 53 and 63 per cent of the corresponding averages for the 400 farm families. In the six villages the average annual income per family varied from $152 to $249, the amount per person from $30 to $39.50.

The reported expenditure averaged $155 per family, $29.70 per person. 511 There was an apparent surplus of $30 per family, but probably 438 much of this was the result of omissions in estimating the family expenditure and the actual surplus was considerably less than that amount. Thirty per cent of the families reported a deficit.

In one village four of the 274 home industry families reported incomes 434 of less than $50 per year. These probably were the three single 438 person families, all males, and one of the two person families. Twenty families reported expenditure of less than $50 per year. This was two-thirds of the one and two person families in the village. Only one out of eight of the families reported incomes of $25 or more per month. For all the home industry families in the village the average income was $178 per family, $39.50 per person. The expenditure was $138 per family, $31 per person per year.

TABLE 35. FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

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Income reported, total	$226,460	Families reporting:		
Per family	$185.00	Surplus	784	511 ●
Per person	$34.20	Deficit	374	434
Proportion from home industry	20.2%	Balanced budget	62	
			1,220	
Expenses, total	$188,925			
Per family	$155.00	Amount of surplus	$45,035	
Per person	$29.70	Amount of deficit	$7,560	

Income and Expense Distribution
Village No. 1

Amount	*Income Families*	*Expense Families*
Under $50	4	20
50–99	53	60
100–149	65	80
150–199	61	50
200–249	22	41
250–299	35	19
300 and over	34	4
	274	274

Average Income and Expense

Village	*Income per Family*	*Income per Person*	*Expense per Family*	*Expense per Person*
1	$178	$39.50	$138	$31.00
2	249	35.70	202	30.20
3	196	30.00	174	26.80
4	162	33.70	144	30.60
5	182	38.70	171	36.20
6	152	34.30	113	25.20
	$185	$34.20	$155	$29.70

CHAPTER V

Family Budgets

511 THE DAILY accounts and records of 34 farm families give a sample of rural family budgets and figures that are at least suggestive of the way the farm families in different income levels divided their expenditure, the kinds and amounts of food included in their diet, the types and value of their housing, the relation between the amount of income and the size of the family group.

Almost no farm families keep such records, so it was necessary for our field workers to persuade a group of families to keep them for us. Since most of the families were illiterate, it also was necessary to persuade them to report their daily income and expenditure to a writer who called regularly to make the entries in the record.

As our study of 400 farms[1] showed that 76 per cent of the farm produce was used by the farm family and that the money they handled was only a small part of their real income and expenditure, it was necessary to have the families report the amounts and value of the farm produce used from day to day, as well as any money income and expenditure. This required actual weighing of the food used, at least until a reasonable basis of estimating the amount used was established and understood. Periodic weighings were also used to check the accuracy of the reports.

805 511 Because of the seasonal nature of some of the income and expenditure, it was necessary to continue the accounting for a full year. Since the lunar year was still in general use, the families felt that they had completed the year's record when they had finished 12 lunar, rather than 12 solar months. The difference between the two years is some 11 days, 3.1 per cent. Generally we have taken the records as written and based our tables on the lunar year. For the annual food consumption figures,

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[1] See Chapter III.

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however, the reported amounts have been increased by enough to put 805
them on the solar rather than the lunar year basis.

It is fully realized that there are many chances for error in this type of accounting, especially when it covers the period of a year and when, 128
because of literacy problems, the entries have to be made by someone 511
outside of the family. Previous experience with a similar study of the budgets of city families[2] made it possible to foresee and provide for some of the problems. We were able to enlist the cooperation and assistance of the village heads. The records were made, not by an outsider, but by one of the villagers. In spite of all we could do, a considerable number of families dropped out during the year. For some others the record was so evidently incomplete that they had to be eliminated. Fifty-five families started the study but only 34 completed the year's record.

A small group of 34 families that, because of the requirements of the study, had to be chosen on a highly selective basis cannot be called average for all of Ting Hsien, but the general consistency of the figures, when the families are divided into groups according to the amount of their income, is such that it is felt that the income group figures give a very informative picture of the way the rural families of different income levels divided and used their income and furnish a basis for comparison with similar figures from other areas. It is also felt that the record figures are much more accurate than those that could be secured from estimates, by the head of the family, of the previous year's expenditures.

The first of our families began its account on the first of the first month of 1928, a few more families were added the next month, but most of the group began in the third month and continued through the second month of 1929. There was a leap second month in 1929, but it was not included in our study.

The families lived in Chai Ch'eng, Hsiao Liu, and Tung T'ing. These 511
villages were all in the Experimental District. The problem of finding available writers as well as families willing to cooperate in our study made it advisable to work in three neighboring villages rather than in one center. Three men took care of the necessary account keeping.

All of the 34 families were land owners. Seven held land under

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[2] Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

511 mortgage and five rented part of the land they farmed. Land held under mortgage was practically owned by the mortgagee. Instead of paying interest on the mortgage, the owner turned the land over to the mortgagee subject, of course, to the right of redemption. The area farmed by the individual families varied from eight to 60 mu. The total was 1,061.6 mu. Of this, 976.8 mu were owned, 53 mu were held under mortgage, and 31.8 mu were rented. The 3 per cent of rented land was low when compared with the 6.9 per cent average for the 3rd District and the 12.2 per cent average for the hsien. None of the 34 farms was large enough to warrant employing a full-time worker.

511 565 The average farm area per family was 31.2 mu, 5.2 acres. This was some 36 per cent more than the average for the Experimental District and 47 per cent more than the hsien average of 21.2 mu per farm operating family.[3] Our average family very evidently belonged to a higher income group than the average Ting Hsien family. This difficulty is overcome, to some extent, by dividing our budget families into four income groups beginning with $100 per year and with an income range of $100 per year per group. The number of families in these income groups is smaller than we would like, but, even so, their figures seem to give a reasonable picture of the distribution of family expenditure at different income levels.

How the families were divided among the different income groups and how the average number of mu per family varied with the amount of the family income from 14.8 mu for the $100–$200 group to 41.8 mu for the $400–$500 group is shown in Table 36.

The 34 families ranged in size from two to 12 persons. The total number of persons was 205, an average of 6.0 persons per family. This was only slightly higher than the average of 5.8 persons in the 5,255 families living in the 1st District.[4] As the farm of our average family contained six mu, 24 per cent, more land than the average farm in the 1st District, we should be inclined to expect more of a difference in the size of the average families. Since the families in the $200–$300 income group averaged 5.9 persons and their farms 27.7 mu, or very nearly the average figures for the families in the 1st District, it seems possible to infer that the average incomes of the two groups were fairly comparable. For our $200–$300 group, the average annual income was $262.65 per family, $44.50 per person.

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[3] See Chapter X.

[4] See Chapter IV.

That the number in the family was very definitely related to the size 511 of the family income is shown by the increase in the average persons per 565 family from 5.8 in the $100–$200 group to 9.3 in the $400–$500 group.

Figure 15 shows how closely the size of the family was related to the size of the farm. The number of mu per person, in the highest income group, was only 15 per cent more than in the lowest income group. The 400 farm families[5] showed a tendency for the size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with an increase of 100 per cent in the size of the farm.

As the number of mu per person was less in the $400–$500 income group than in the $300–$400 group, we wonder whether the higher income families might not have had a fairly recent influx of relatives that had increased the size of the average family and reduced the number of mu per person. It may be, however, that, since these larger families had sources of income other than farming, they had not increased their land holdings. The families in this income group received 31.4 per cent of their income from non-farm sources. With an average surplus of some $116, they had sufficient means to purchase additional land, if desired.

The 205 family members were divided 106 male and 99 female, or 511 51.7 per cent male. The masculinity rate of 107 was only slightly higher than the rate for the 515 and the 5,255 families included in our population study in Chapter II.

The age distribution of the family members showed a much larger proportion in the 16–30 age group than was true in the two other and larger groups of Ting Hsien families, 35.7 per cent, as compared with 24.9 and 24.3 per cent. This was offset by smaller proportions in the 1–15 and 31–45 year groups.

The relationship distribution was practically the same as that found in the two larger groups of families. Eighty-three percent were members of the immediate family of the head of the household, or his direct descendants; 7 per cent belonged to an older generation and 10 per cent were brothers, their families, and sisters. The details of the distribution are shown in Table 4.

Only 22 per cent of the family members who were 15 years of age or older were single, 22 males and 11 females. All of the women over 24 years of age had married. Three men over 24 were still single. There

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[5] See Chapter III.

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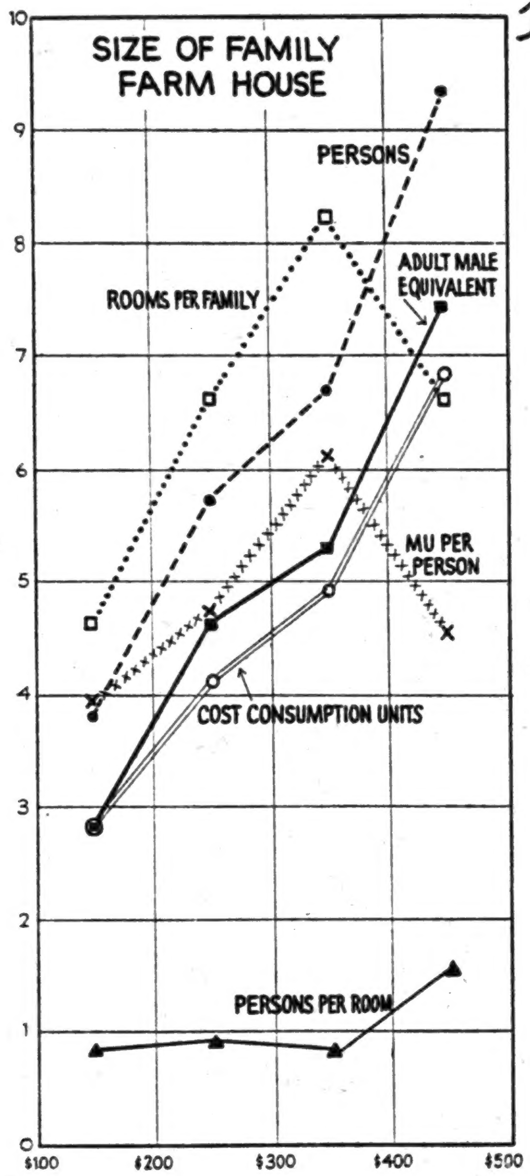

FIGURE 15. BUDGET FAMILIES: PERSONS PER FAMILY & PER ROOM, ADULT MALE EQUIVALENTS & ROOMS PER FAMILY, LAND PER PERSON

1 [In Ting Hsien .. Analyst]
[p. 104]

were 48 couples in the 34 families. In 63 per cent the wife was older than her husband. In 31 per cent the husband was the elder. The average age difference was three quarters of a year, with the wife the older. There were eight widowers and 13 widows.

To allow for the differences in consumption due to differences in age and sex, the size of the families has been figured in terms of Atwater's Adult Male Equivalents and of the food scale of Cost Consumption Units developed by the United States Department of Agriculture.[6] The usual age figures in the tables of equivalents have been increased by one to allow for the difference between Chinese and Western ages. The total number of adult male equivalents was 158.5 and of cost consumption units 149.0. Figure 15 and Table 36 show that the adult male equivalents per family varied from 2.8 in the $100–$200 group to 7.4 in the $400–$500 group. Cost consumption units varied from 2.8 to 6.8.

Seventy-three of the 78 males over 14 years of age (13 foreign count) were listed as farmers. Of the five men engaged in other full-time work, two were in business, one was a teacher, one an apprentice, and one an employed laborer. Twenty farmers reported working in their spare time, weaving, peddling, making incense, paper, and teapots, beating cotton batting, herding sheep, and wagon driving. The women helped with the farm work at harvest time and did some weaving and spinning.

The families have been grouped according to the amount of their reported income unless their expenditure was larger than their income. In that case, it is assumed that the deficit was financed from some unreported source and that the amount of income was equal to the expenditure. Unspent income was considered as surplus that may have been spent for some unreported items or kept as savings, partly in money, partly in unused farm products in the family storeroom.

The average incomes of the different income groups were not far from the mid-point of the income range of each group. The minimum income reported was $107.29, or $9.00 a month. The maximum was $486.19, just over $40 per month.

Because the size of the family increased when the family income increased, the figures showing the income per person and per adult male equivalent are much more significant than those giving the income per family. The figures in Table 36 show that, for this group of families, the income per adult male equivalent was very similar in the different

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[6] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 1382, January, 1926.

511 income groups. The same was true of the income per person figures. Generally the amounts were about $4.00 per month per person and $5.00 per month per adult male equivalent. The lowest amounts were in the $100–$200 group, the highest in the $300–$400 group rather than in the $400–$500 group. The $300–$400 group average per adult male equivalent was only 11 per cent above that of the $100–$200 group.

434 The sources of the family income, shown in Table 37, include three
sources of farm income: crops, land rent, and other farm income. Crop
511 income is the net income after paying the necessary operating expenses.
It includes the cash income from any crops sold and the value of the crops used by the families. It averaged generally between $6.50 and $7.00 per mu. Only three families reported crop income of more than $10.00 per mu. Five families reported less than $5.00 per mu.

The averages were somewhat higher than those given by dividing the average crop income by the average number of mu per family, as eight of the families rented to others part of their land holdings. The total amount received from this source was $139.45. The records do not give the exact number of mu rented, but an average rate of $3.50 per mu would make it 40 mu. That amount has been deducted in figuring the crop income per mu.

Other farm income included the value of animals and animal products sold or used on the farm, also the value of wood from the farm trees. Four-fifths of the families received some income from this source, the amounts ranging from $6.00 to $185.00. The latter, undoubtedly, was the family that sold a horse. The next largest amounts reported were $71 and $68. All of the 27 families reporting income from animals either sold or used some pork. The majority listed eggs, nine wood. Three sold mules. The sale of the mules and the horse may have represented the sale of a capital item rather than current income, but, lacking definite information, we have counted the amount received as part of the family income.

"Miscellaneous income" included wages earned, business profit, and other occasional items. Twenty-four families reported amounts varying from 70 cents to $150. For four families, the amount was over $75. They all received $130 or more. Three of the four families were in the $400–$500 income group.

511 House rent was purely a bookkeeping item, entered on both the in-
427 come and expense side of the family accounts, as all of the families

owned their homes and paid no rent. The figures used, therefore, were 511 427 the estimated rent value of the house occupied by the family. To make our figures comparable with those in other budget studies, it has been necessary to include a rent charge in the family expenses and balance it with a like amount on the income side. It averaged 5.1 per cent of the total estimated value of the houses, $12,300. The estimated value of the individual houses ranged from $120 to $920, but only four were worth more than $500. The average value was $360. The values used for the different kinds of construction were $40 per chien for a house with earthen walls and no porch, $70 per chien if the house had a porch. If the walls were brick the value was $60 per chien without and $90 with a porch.

The estimated rents of the four types of houses were 15, 20, 30, and 35 cents per chien per month, or from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The rent value of the brick walled, no porch house was higher than that of the earthen walled house with porch even though the value of the latter house was estimated to be $10 more than that of the brick walled house. The amount of housing and the relation of the rent item to the family budget is given in connection with the rent expenditure.

Ten families reported spending more money than they received. The 511 426 totals for the different income groups have been averaged for the group. Two of the lowest income families had deficits of some $76. All of the families with incomes of less than $170 per year reported borrowing from $20 to $50. Two families in the $300–$400 group reported borrowing to meet deficits. Amounts borrowed were not counted as income except for the amount necessary to cover the reported deficit. Lacking inventories of the families' food supply at the beginning and end of our study, we cannot determine how much of the deficits was covered from that source and how much from other sources not noted in the family accounts.

How the family expenditure was divided by amount and per cent 511 among the six main expense headings of food, clothing, fuel, rent, miscellaneous, and surplus is shown in Figure 16 and Table 38. It will be noted that the amounts for clothing, rent, fuel, and miscellaneous are all small, about $1.00 a month for the low income families, increasing to about $2.00 a month for the highest income group. The expenditure for food increased from some $9.00 a month for families in the $100–$200 group to $20 a month for those in the $400–$500 group. The pro-

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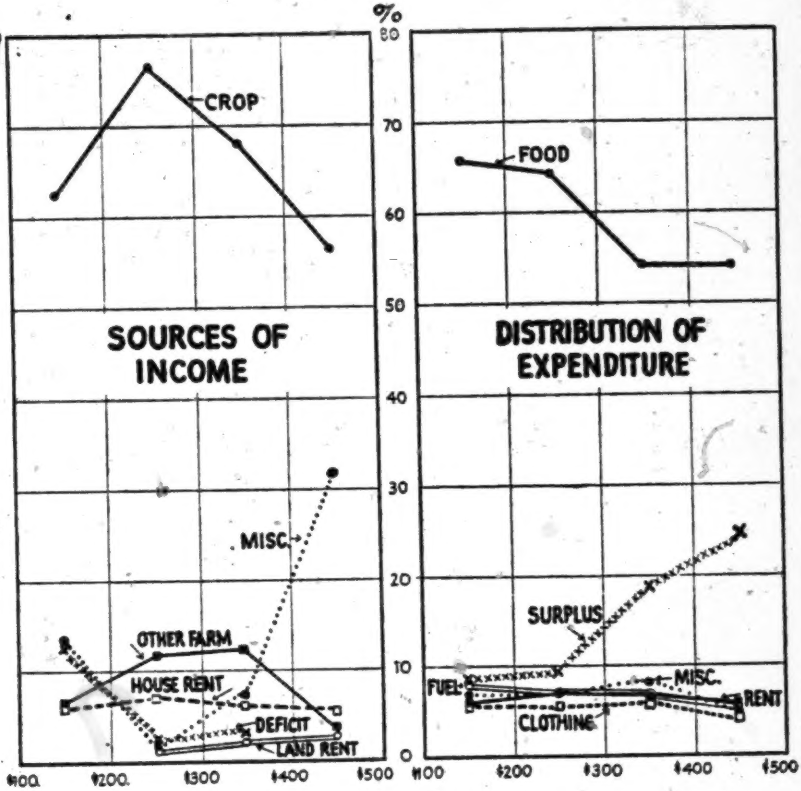

FIGURE 16. BUDGET FAMILIES: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENSES

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portionate increase in the food expenditure was fairly comparable with that in the other expense classifications. Surplus, on the other hand, increased some eight times while the family income increased less than three times. Some of the large increase in surplus was, undoubtedly, due to unreported expenditure, but much of it represented family savings in one form or another.

The percentages of the family expenditure used for the different expense classifications generally followed the usual family budget pattern. The proportion used for food decreased from 65.5 to 54.0 per cent and that for miscellaneous and surplus together increased from 15.3 to 30.9

per cent as the family income increased. The proportions spent for rent 511 and clothing stayed about the same, averaging 5.1 and 6.4 per cent. That used for fuel, however, instead of remaining about the same, decreased from 8.3 to 5.3 per cent, a more rapid rate of decrease than that for food. This probably was the result of the small amount of fuel used for heating by Chinese families. Expenditure for fuel for cooking and lighting would probably not increase proportionately with the family income. We found the same decrease in the per cent used for fuel by families living in Peking.[7]

The proportion of the family budget used for food by the Ting Hsien 511 families was higher than that used by Peking families with similar incomes. The larger size of the rural families in all except the $100–$200 565 group would readily account for this difference. The rural families in the $400–$500 group averaged 9.3 persons, but the city families with incomes between $420 and $480 a year averaged only 5.1 persons. In the next higher city group, the average was only 3.9 persons.[8]

The proportion used for clothes was very similar in the rural and city groups, as was that used for miscellaneous and surplus together. The percentages for rent and fuel were distinctly less for the rural families.

Because of the importance of the expenditure for food, we have made a detailed study of the amounts spent for eight different groups. Millet, which is the principal grain in the Ting Hsien area, was segregated from the other grains and flours. Sweet potatoes, another large item in the family diet, were also given a separate classification. Vegetables, condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous were the other groupings.

The average expenditure of the different income groups for each of the eight food groups is shown in Table 40. It will be noted that in all the income groups by far the largest amount was spent for millet; the amounts for other grains and for sweet potatoes were similar though the grain amounts were regularly larger. The amount for vegetables was about 60 per cent of that for sweet potatoes. The amounts for condiments and meat were much smaller, generally under 50 cents a month. Fruit was a very minor item with an average of some 10 cents per month.

While the amounts per family changed as the family increased, the proportionate distribution of the food expenditure remained practically the same for all the income groups. The approximate division for

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[7] Gamble, *op. cit.*

[8] Gamble, *op. cit.*

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the four income groups was 36 per cent for millet and 25 per cent for the other grains, a total of 61 per cent for grain and flour; sweet potatoes were about 21 per cent and vegetables 12.5 per cent. Condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous together took only 5.6 per cent of the average family food budget.

This similarity of distribution was not found in the budgets of Peking families. There the grains and flours decreased and meat increased as the family income increased. City families with incomes from $20 to $25 per month spent some 62 per cent of their food budget for grain and flour. Condiments were 13 per cent, over four times the country figure. Fruit and miscellaneous together were 6.8 per cent, over 13 times the corresponding rural figures. Vegetables were 50 per cent larger in the farm budget. Sweet potatoes, for which the rural families used some 21 per cent of their food expenditure, were not separately listed in the city diet. Generally, the city families considered sweet potatoes distinctly a country food.[9]

The difference in the size of the families in the different income groups makes it difficult to compare their food expenditure directly, but when the amounts are expressed in terms of amounts per person or per adult male equivalent there is a great similarity between the total food figures for the different income groups and in the figures for all of the eight different food divisions. Table 39 shows how close the agreement is. Interestingly enough the amount per adult male equivalent is largest in the lowest income group, and there is a slight but regular decrease in each group as the family income increases.

The small differences in the distribution of the food expenditure and the small differences in the total expenditure per adult male equivalent in the different income groups make it seem evident that there was almost a standard diet for these Ting Hsien families and that once this was attained there was little change even with considerable change in the family income. The amounts per family changed, but generally only in response to a change in the size of the family. The standard diet evidently was available even to the families in our lowest income group. It probably would be available to other small low income farm families in Ting Hsien. The diet was amost entirely dependent on local production. The expenditure per person was so small that it would be difficult to include any considerable amount of imported food.

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[9] Gamble, *op. cit.*

2:Gamble 5-5(1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

511 565 The average food expenditure of $2.40 per month per person, $3.00 per month per adult male equivalent, and $3.30 per month per cost consumption unit gives a very definite picture of the food expenditure of these families. Buck's figure for the food expenditure of families in Hopei province was $22.94 per adult male equivalent per year.[10] This was 35 per cent below our figure but was based on figures secured some six years earlier.

In Peking the food expenditure of the families with incomes of from $15 to $25 a month was $2.55 per capita and $3.60 per cost consumption unit per month.[11]

511 146 The amounts of food per adult male equivalent used by the average family in the different income groups naturally show the same similarity as the expenditure figures. The small amounts of condiments, meat, and fruit are especially noticeable. Five pounds of meat and three and a half pounds of fruit per person per year means that those were very minor items in the general diet. (See Figure 17 and Table 40.)

The average amount of food per person per year was 1,030 catties. Per day this was 2.8 catties, or 3.8 pounds. For the average adult male equivalent the amount was 3.75 catties, 5.0 pounds per day. For the individual families the amount per person per year ranged from 780 to 1,485 catties or from 2.9 to 5.4 pounds per day.

The average daily diet of a member of these families was 17 pound ounces of grain and flour, 25 ounces of sweet potatoes, 19 ounces of vegetables, and 0.8 of an ounce of other foods. By weight the diet was 40 per cent sweet potatoes, 31 per cent vegetables, 28 per cent grains, one per cent condiments, meat, fruit, and miscellaneous.

The large amounts of millet and sweet potatoes are the outstanding items in the food list. Other areas report using sweet potatoes, but not in anywhere near the same amount. Other areas also report using more kaoliang or wheat than millet.

511 The 34 families reported an average sweet potato consumption of 430 catties per person per year. We have been interested to note that the farm production estimates for the hsien gave a total for sweet potatoes that was equivalent to 465 catties per person if the hsien population is taken as 408,000 persons. The 400 families estimated that all but 2 per cent of the sweet potato crop was consumed on the farm. This

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[10] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[11] Gamble, *op. cit.*

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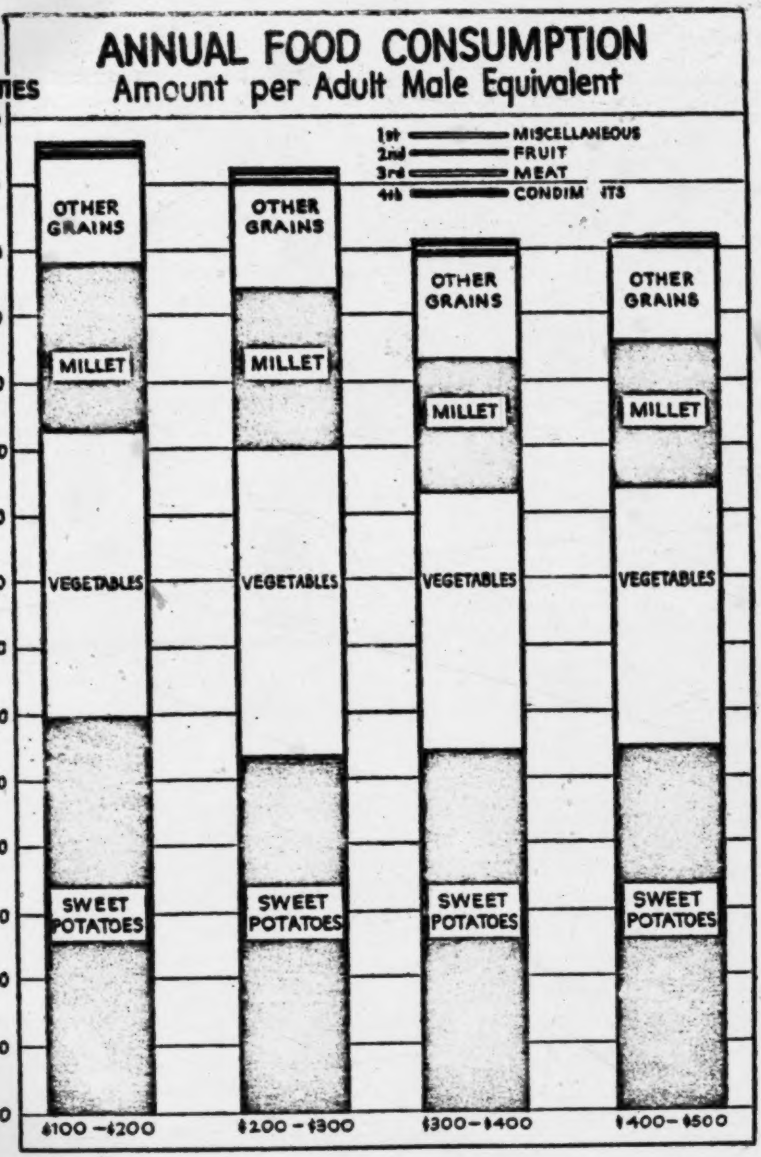

FIGURE 17. BUDGET FAMILIES: FOOD CONSUMPTION PER ADULT MALE EQUIVALENT

[p. 112]

2: Gamble S-5(1926-1933)1954. AF12 North China AF12

would make the difference between the two sweet potato figures less 511 than 8 per cent.

The average family expenditure for each of the different kinds of 511 food, the number of families reporting its use, and the average amount 262 used are shown in Table 41. The average price per catty is also given. It will be noted that some 40 per cent of the expenditure for sweet potatoes was for those that had been dried. In the dried form they are often ground and cooked as noodles in very much the same way as some of the grains. Only seven families reported using any rice during the year.

The average daily consumption of cabbage was 2.3 catties per family, of squash 1.6 catties. The leaves of the white beets were used as a green vegetable; the roots were pickled and eaten for flavoring with other food. The turnips were generally cut in strips, pickled, and used as a salt vegetable. The reported 30 catties of fennel, or anise, included the leaves and stems used as a vegetable as well as the seed used for flavoring.

The average amount of salt used was 6.0 catties (8.0 pounds) per person per year. This agrees very closely with the 6.5 catties per person reported by the salt wholesaler. (See Chapter VIII.)

Meat was used almost exclusively at festival time. About three quarters of the expenditure was for pork, the only meat item reported by all the families. Beef was used by four-fifths of the families. Dates were the only fruit used by all the families.

The clothing expenditure averaged $14.85 per family, or $2.48 per 511 person per year. For the different income groups, the amounts per person 291 varied from $2.10 for the $400–$500 group to $2.73 for the $300–$400 group.

The details of the average family expenditure for clothes are given in Table 42. Cloth, cotton, shoes, and stockings were the items reported by all the families. Native cloth was woven in Ting Hsien. Foreign cloth was not necessarily made abroad. The name was used to indicate both the kind of cloth and the fact that it was made outside of Ting Hsien. It was woven on machine looms. The native cloth was woven on hand looms. The cotton was the cotton batting used to line winter clothes. Eighty-six feet of native cloth, 10 feet of foreign cloth, and 4.6 catties of cotton were the average purchases. The prices were 7.0 cents a foot for native cloth, 10 cents a foot for foreign cloth, and 40 cents a catty for cotton.

Housing seemed to be relatively adequate for there were more rooms 342 511

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than persons in the average house. The average was 0.9 persons per room. It must be remembered, however, that the number of rooms reported included not only the living rooms of the family but storerooms for farm equipment and supplies and rooms used to house animals. How the number of rooms per family and per person varied in the different income groups is shown in Figure 15 and Table 36. The high average of 1.5 persons per room in the $400–$500 group would lead one to feel that these larger families might recently have been augmented by the addition of extra relatives and had not had time to adjust themselves to the new situation, or possibly there was not room for additional building on the home site inside the village. Certainly there was sufficient surplus in the family budget to finance additional building.

The size of the individual houses varied from three to 15 chien. The 229 chien were divided into 102 with earthen walls and 127 with brick walls. Three of the earthen walled and 23 of the brick walled rooms had porches. The rent value of the different types of houses was estimated to range from $1.80 to $4.20 per chien per year. The average rent per family was $1.55 per month, 6.4 per cent of the family expenditure. For the different income groups the average amount varied from 79 cents to $2.07 per month. (See Table 38.) All of the families owned their homes, so the rent item represents rent value rather than actual expenditure.

The type of house was not closely related to the size of the family income. Twenty-four of the families had some brick walled rooms. Thirteen of these also had earthen walled rooms. Four of the 14 families in the $300–$400 income group had only earthen walled rooms. One family in the $100–200 group had only brick walled rooms.

511 No rent for farm land was included in the family expenditure as that was a farm expense and was paid from the gross farm income.

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Most of the $19.55 used for fuel was the value of the dried grass and stubble and wood grown on the farm or secured from neighbors. Coal, kerosene, and matches, of course, had to be imported. The distribution of the fuel costs was:

Hay and wood	$15.15
Coal	2.25
Kerosene	1.90
Matches	.25
	$19.55

The amounts reported for wood and dried grass ranged from $6 to $25. 511 Only 20 families used any coal. Ten dollars was the most any family 372 spent for that item. The average amount of kerosene was 13.58 catties per family per year, or just over one-half of a tin. For the individual families the amounts ranged from 5.5 to 25 catties. The average daily use was one-half Chinese ounce that cost two coppers. The price per catty was 14 cents, $3.57 per tin. The 25 cents spent for matches bought 55 boxes.

Miscellaneous expenditures naturally included a large number of 511 different items. In this study they have been divided into 10 different groups. The amounts spent for each of these by the families in the different income groups are shown in Table 38. Most of the amounts were small. Even the highest total for all 10 groups was less than $2.50 per month. For three of the four income groups the total for miscellaneous was less than 7.0 per cent of the total expenditure.

Under the head of social expenditure were included the amounts spent for cakes sent as gifts for weddings, funerals, or the birth of a child, or bought to entertain visiting relatives; the eggs sent at the birth of a child; the special expenses for New Year; and money given to the children at New Years' or to a bride.

All the families bought some wine. The average expenditure was $1.02. Locally grown tobacco was much more generally used than the imported cigarettes. Twenty-six families used an average of 6.3 catties of tobacco. The 12 families buying cigarettes reported the purchase of 262 packages. Each package contained 10 cigarettes. The price of the tobacco was 17.5 cents a catty, of the cigarettes five cents per package. The seven families using tea leaves used an average of five ounces per family per year. The average price was just under five cents an ounce.

All of the families went to the temple fair and the theaters. The average expenditure for these amusements was 75 and 55 cents per family. Other amusements included gambling, fortune telling, watching a magician, and the cost of birds to be kept in a cage. Fortune telling and sleight of hand evidently were not very prosperous businesses for the total contribution to them was only 37 cents. The two families that bought birds spent $2 apiece.

The list of house furnishings purchased during the year included 29 items, but the only one reported by all 34 families was chopsticks. Only five items were reported by over half of the families. The average

511 expenditure for chopsticks was 14 cents per family. Only five other items averaged as much as 10 cents per family per year, and only one, bowls, averaged as much as 20 cents.

Soap and hair cuts were the only two health items reported by all the families. The average annual expenditure was 26 cents for soap and 17 cents for hair cuts. The two families that bought toothbrushes and toothpaste spent a total of 75 cents for those items. Only four families spent any money for shaves and three for baths. The average expenditure for medicine was $1.22.

Educational items were reported by only 19 families. Their total expenditure was $18.32, an average of 96 cents. The expenditure for books was only 3.5 cents per person. Only three families said they paid school tuition. Their total expenditure was $4.12, an average of $1.37 per family.

The 70 cents spent for religion bought an average of three packages of paper money of 88 sheets each, 1.2 packages of yellow paper of 96 sheets each, and 2.7 bundles of incense. The price of the incense was five cents per bundle, of the paper 10 cents per package.

701 An assessment was levied on all families for the support of the army.
511 It totaled $84.74. The amount per family varied from 60 cents to $4.80. It averaged some 8.0 cents a mu for all the land farmed by the 34
426 families, but it was 8.7 cents per mu for the land owned and 8.25 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage. It seems clear that the owner of rented land was required to pay the assessment. Other studies generally indicated that it was the mortgagee who paid on the mortgaged land. The amounts reported by the individual families varied from 8.0 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and from 4.1 to 12.5 cents per mu on the land owned and held under mortgage.

511 The village assessment for home guards, schools, etc. totaled $68.89. It averaged 7.1 cents per mu on the land owned and 6.7 cents per mu
621 on the owned and mortgaged land. On the latter basis, the amounts for the individual families varied from 2.5 to 8.4 cents per mu, but for 21 of the families the amount was between 7.0 and 7.4 cents inclusive. As other studies have generally indicated that the village assessments were levied according to the number of mu a family owned or held under mortgage, it is not clear why there was such a difference in the amounts paid per mu unless the amount of the assessment was related to the quality of the land. Different rates for the three villages in which our

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families lived might account for some, but hardly for all, of the differences. 511

Miscellaneous included two payments on debts and the expenditure for the one funeral reported. The debt payments were $31.00 and $15.50. The funeral cost $13.49. 571

TABLE 36. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY, FARM, HOUSE, INCOME 511

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Income Group	*No. of Families*	*Average No. of Persons*	*Average A.M.E.*[1]	*Average C.C.U.*[2]	*Mu per Family*	*Mu per Person*
$100–200	8	3.8	2.8	2.8	14.8	3.9
200–300	9	5.9	4.5	4.1	27.7	4.7
300–400	14	6.7	5.3	4.9	40.6	6.1
400–500	3	9.3	7.4	6.8	41.8	4.5
Average		6.0	4.7	4.4	31.2	5.2

Income Group	*Rooms per Family*	*Persons per Room*	*Income per Family*	*Income per Person*	*Income per A.M.E.*[1]
$100–200	4.6	0.8	$166.75	$35.80	$58.50
200–300	6.6	0.9	262.65	40.70	59.40
300–400	8.2	0.8	345.00	46.70	64.90
400–500	6.6	1.5	454.65	46.20	61.45
Average	6.7	0.9	290.95	43.70	61.35

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[1] Adult Male Equivalent.

[2] Cost Consumption Unit.

TABLE 37. SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME

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Income Group	Crop	Other Farm	Land Rent	House Rent	Misc.	Deficit	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$103.80	$10.50	$ –	$ 9.45	$ 21.60	$21.40	$166.75
200–300	201.60	30.40	2.60	18.55	5.75	3.75	262.65
300–400	237.35	42.00	5.55	22.35	28.55	9.20	345.00
400–500	257.50	17.00	12.65	24.85	142.65	–	454.65
Average	198.25	29.30	4.10	18.55	30.95	9.80	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	62.2	6.3	–	5.7	13.0	12.8	100.0
200–300	76.8	11.5	1.0	7.1	2.2	1.4	100.0
300–400	68.7	12.2	1.6	6.5	8.3	2.7	100.0
400–500	56.6	3.7	2.8	5.5	31.4	–	100.0
Average	68.1	10.1	1.4	6.4	10.6	3.4	100.0
Number reporting	34	27	8	34	24	10	

TABLE 38. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE

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Income Group	Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel	Misc.	Surplus	Total
			Amount				
$100–200	$109.20	$ 8.75	$ 9.45	$13.80	$11.35	$14.20	$166.75
200–300	165.70	13.45	18.55	18.70	17.75	28.50	262.65
300–400	186.40	18.25	22.35	22.40	29.60	66.00	345.00
400–500	245.65	19.65	24.85	23.95	24.50	116.05	454.65
Average	167.95	14.85	18.55	19.55	21.70	48.35	290.95
			Per Cent				
$100–200	65.5	5.2	5.7	8.3	6.8	8.5	100.0
200–300	64.1	5.2	7.1	7.2	6.8	9.6	100.0
300–400	54.0	5.3	6.5	6.5	8.6	19.1	100.0
400–500	54.0	4.3	5.5	5.3	5.4	25.5	100.0
Average	57.7	5.1	6.4	6.7	7.5	16.6	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 : : AP12 North China AF12

TABLE 39. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR FOOD

Per Family

Income Group	*Millet*	*Other Grain*	*Sweet Potatoes*	*Vegetables*	*Condiments*	*Meat*	*Fruit*	*Misc.*	*Total*
$100–200	$38.65	$28.10	$22.85	$13.30	$3.40	$2.20	$0.44	$0.26	$109.20
200–300	60.75	42.25	32.30	21.00	5.00	3.50	0.48	0.42	165.70
300–400	68.30	45.10	39.10	23.10	5.40	4.50	0.70	0.20	186.40
400–500	87.80	57.10	55.60	33.05	7.15	4.10	0.60	0.25	245.65
Average	61.05	41.40	34.90	21.10	5.00	3.65	0.57	0.28	167.95
Average per cent	36.4	24.6	20.8	12.6	3.0	2.2	0.3	0.1	100.0

Per Adult Male Equivalent

Income Group	*Millet*	*Other Grain*	*Sweet Potatoes*	*Vegetables*	*Condiments*	*Meat*	*Fruit*	*Misc.*	*Total*
$100–200	$13.55	$ 9.85	$ 8.00	$ 4.65	$1.20	$0.77	$0.15	$0.09	$38.25
200–300	13.70	9.50	7.50	4.75	1.10	0.78	0.10	0.09	37.50
300–400	12.90	8.50	7.35	4.35	1.05	0.84	0.14	0.04	35.15
400–500	11.85	7.70	7.50	4.45	0.95	0.55	0.08	0.03	33.10
Average	12.90	8.75	7.35	4.45	1.05	0.77	0.12	0.06	35.45

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TABLE 41. FOOD USED BY AVERAGE FAMILY PER YEAR:[1]
KIND, AMOUNT, VALUE

Grains, Grain Products, Sweet Potatoes

	Catties per Family	*Value per Family*	*Families Using*	*Price per Catty*
Sweet potatoes	2,008	$20.08	34	$.01
Dried sweet potatoes	495	14.85	34	.03
Millet	1,017	61.05	34	.06
Wheat	147	11.20	34	.076
Beans	130	8.08	34	.063
Kaoliang	111	5.38	34	.048
Buckwheat	98	5.58	34	.057
Glutinous millet	56	2.95	34	.052
Corn	51	2.42	29	.047
Barley	38	2.31	32	.061
Panicled millet	35	1.72	26	.05
Wheat flour	9	.80	15	.09
Rice	4	.38	7	.09
Steamed twisted bread	2	.16	18	.078
Fine dried noodles	2	.20	15	.122
Cakes	1	.12	25	.10
Noodles	*	.05	10	.20
Sesame	*	.02	1	.09
	4,204	$137.35		

Vegetables

	Catties per Family	*Value per Family*	*Families Using*	*Price per Catty*
Cabbage	822	$7.69	34	$.009
Squash	625	3.13	34	.005
White beets	203	1.15	34	.006
Turnip strips	156	6.57	33	.042
Onions	48	.42	32	.009
Fennel	30	.37	27	.012
Spinach	9	.11	4	.012
Fresh turnips	7	.06	3	.009
Leeks	2	.04	7	.017
Egg plant	2	.02	2	.01
Bean sprouts	2	.05	15	.03
Cucumbers	1	.01	6	.01
Seaweed	1	.14	26	.17
Bean noodles	8	1.25	32	.156
Garlic	1	.03	4	.04
Bean curd	1	.04	15	.06
Thyme	*	–	1	.03
Dried vegetables	*	.02	1	.075
	1,918	$21.10		

(continued on next page)

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(TABLE 41 CONTINUED)

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	Catties per Family	Value per Family	Families Using	Price per Catty
Condiments				
Salt	36	$3.47	34	$.091
Vinegar	5	.15	32	.034
Black oil	4	.65	34	.15
Sesame oil	2	.46	33	.25
Sauce	1	.11	23	.18
Pepper	1	.04	24	.07
Ginger	*	.05	24	.23
Starch	*	.03	7	.16
Sugar	*	.02	11	.17
Lard	*	.02	4	.26
	49	$5.00		
Meat				
Pork	15	$2.74	34	$.18
Beef	5	.71	27	.145
Mutton	1	.10	8	.11
Eggs	1	.04	1	.087
Pig's liver	*	.05	1	.187
Horse meat	*	.01	2	.34
	22	$3.65		
Fruit				
Watermelon	5	$.04	9	$.01
Dates	4	.22	34	.05
Muskmelon	3	.07	15	.023
Pears	1	.14	27	.124
Persimmons	1	.04	17	.057
Apricots	1	.03	10	.065
Peaches	*	.01	3	.19
Grapes	*	.01	3	.08
Red fruit	*	*	3	–
Tangerines	*	.01	1	.32
	15	$.57		
Other Foods				
Elm bark	2	$.13	6	$.059
Soda	1	.05	18	.078
Barley candy	1	.06	16	.112
Sugared fruit	*	.03	14	.16
Candy	*	.01	4	.24
Peanuts	*	–	1	.12
	4	$.28		

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* Less than 0.5 catty.

[1] Lunar year.

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TABLE 42. AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR CLOTHING

	Amount	*Families Reporting*
Native cloth	$5.99	34
Foreign cloth	1.07	34
Cotton	1.80	34
Shoes	2.54	34
Stockings	1.45	34
Belts	.02	4
Uniforms	.11	2
Hats	.10	10
Fur	.52	2
Net	.15	1
Bedding	1.10	9
	$14.85	

TABLE 43. AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

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Income Group	*Social*	*Wine & Tobacco*	*Amusement*	*Household Equipment*	*Medicine & Health*	*Education*
$100–200	$2.71	$0.95	$0.78	$0.57	$0.64	$0.02
200–300	3.15	1.19	1.35	1.03	1.41	0.26
300–400	6.15	3.51	2.56	2.48	2.99	1.03
400–500	5.50	2.88	1.20	2.25	0.80	0.44
Average	4.48	2.24	1.70	1.62	1.83	0.54

Income Group	*Religion*	*Military Assessment*	*Village Assessment*	*Misc.*	*Total*
$100–200	$0.37	$1.39	$0.96	$2.96	$11.35
200–300	0.57	2.19	1.70	4.90	17.75
300–400	0.96	3.25	2.72	3.95	29.60
400–500	0.73	3.10	2.65	4.95	24.50
Average	0.70	2.48	2.03	4.08	21.70

782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

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Table 2.—Average Surplus and Deficit of 48 Families in Six Months According to Earnings and Total Incomes Separately.

Income group	Number of Families	Earnings minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according to earnings	Total income minus expenditure				Average surplus (+) or deficit (−) according total income
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount	
Under $70	3	—	—	3	$15.50	−$15.50	1	$1.67	2	$10.79	−$6.64
$70 & under $110...	28	7	$6.44	21	12.73	− 7.94	15	6.17	13	6.75	+ .18
$110 & under $150...	14	5	7.80	9	17.72	− 8.60	8	15.16	6	8.41	+ 5.06
150 & under $190...	3	2	9.00	1	12.91	+ 1.70	3	10.26	—	—	+10.26
All incomes	48	14	7.29	34	14.30	− 8.00	27	9.12	21	7.61	+ 1.80

125 to be quite well-kept, supplying sufficient data for our study, while the remaining thirteen had to be rejected either because they were lacking in certain important items or because the heads of the families were, strictly speaking, not of the teaching profession. On the whole, the results of the study must be considered encouraging, as the teachers who took part in the study had without exception gladly contributed their services and generously supplied information sought by us.

875 According to the report published by the Bureau of Education of Peking in August, 1926, the total number of elementary school teachers in this city, including both men and women, was 649. This figure, it must be noted, excluded tutors in private families as well as those teaching in schools not registered at the Bureau. At the time of our inquiry, there must have been about 800 elementary school teachers living in Peking.

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However, our study of the standard of living of elementary school teachers can hardly claim to represent their class as a whole. The families to which the teachers belonged were not all of a homogeneous group. If the teacher came from a family in which members receiving high incomes were numerous and he himself happened to be only a subordinate member earning pocket money, the standard of living of his family must be considerably higher than that of the families in which teaching was their main, and sometimes their sole, profession. Of the 800 elementary school teachers, there must have been many who belonged to families of the former type and were in fact living as partial dependents.

If the samples of our elementary school teachers' budgets cover only a portion of their class, they may, nevertheless, claim to represent a great number of other "small families" whose incomes are on about the same level as those of the teacher, such as clerks in government offices, police officers and assistants in big stores and banks, who receive on the average about $40.00 a month as the elementary school teacher. From the economic point of view, they are in the same class. It should be observed that some of the artisan class that are highly paid such

as mechanics, electricians and chauffeurs may also be considered 875
as of this class, but as they are not of the "white collared" pro- 511
fession, it is possible that their living standard differs in many 565
aspects from that of the teacher. On the whole, the standard of living of our elementary school teachers may be said to typify the better portion of the lower middle class and a large part of the comfortable class in Peking.

III.

The accounts of the families were all entered in books 125
specially designed and printed for the inquiry. Each book is 19.4 × 27 cm. in size and contains altogether fifty-eight pages, sufficient for the use of one month. It is divided into five parts:

1. Directions for keeping the accounts.

2. The general schedule. Items of the schedule on the vertical line are members of the family, that is, the head of the family, his wife, sons and daughters, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and others; while items on the horizontal line are: age, present occupation, income per month (in dollars), months with work in the year, working hours per day, holidays per month, at the new year and on the festival days, kind of trade skilled in, money (in dollars) actually given to the family, number of days taking meals at home, number of days taking meals outside, living home, (if not, state where), conditions of health, (strong, weak, cause of weakness, defective, kind of illness and its duration,) educational standing, and religious faith. On the same page, a separate schedule gives the following items: (1) race of the family, birth-place of the head of the family, his wife, father and mother; (2) monthly rent of the house, or the house owned by the family; number of rooms, width and breadth of each room, rooms whether tile-roofed, lime-plastered or mud-covered, the floor whether brick-paved or mud-paved, the roof whether rain-proof or not; (3) extra income of the family, its source and amount per year in dollars; (4) property owned, its form and value; estimated value of all articles owned by th

Chinese currency. Still less is it our purpose to bring out the 436
fundamental defects of the Chinese monetary standards of which everybody is aware. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, while, in countries where a sound currency system has been established, the main problem is merely the stability of the standard money or its purchasing power, in China, however, apart from this problem, there remains first of all that of the circulation of big quantities of subsidiary coins and notes, greatly depreciated due either to debasement or to over-supply, which are a constant disturbing factor of far-reaching importance in Chinese social economy. Indeed, the evil effects of the Chinese currency upon the economic life of the people are well worth studying and the chaotic conditions of the coppers, cent-pieces, dollars, and the various kinds of paper notes in Peking during the last two decades alone would furnish a most entertaining subject for research to the Chinese student of economics.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

In analysing the income and expenditure of the various fami- 434
lies, the following definitions are adopted.

By income is meant that amount of money, or services or things evaluated in terms of money, received during the period of our investigation by the family from such sources, as earnings from labour, interests from investments, rents from land or movable things, presents and gifts from friends or relatives and also relief from public or private agencies. All receipts which do not represent the actual income from the above-mentioned sources during the period of the investigation are thus excluded from this definition. For instance, outstanding debts collected by the family, loans borrowed from friends or relatives, and sums of money derived from pawning articles and from loan societies are not considered as income.

By expenditure is meant that amount of money, or services 511
or things evaluated in terms of money, expended during the period of our investigation by the family for the purchase and use of

511 commodities, the remuneration of services, personal or otherwise, or the presents and gifts to friends or relatives. Other disbursements, such as sums expended for redeeming pawned articles, paying debts or loan society subscriptions or lending loans to others, are all excluded from this definition.

Meals offered by relatives or friends are considered as income on the one hand and expenditure on the other, so also are those provided by employers. Both have been calculated and recorded after careful inquiry.

FOOD PRICES

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437 One difficulty encountered by us in the study of consumption has been to find out its quantity. Purchases of food and other articles among the Chinese families are frequently made, not in terms of quantity, but at so much money's worth. The housewife, for instance, when making purchases, would say that she wants twenty coppers of sugar and ten coppers of tea of a certain brand. As a rule, the grocer has always ready in hand the articles in packages of a definite value. On receiving the order, he would at once throw on the counter four packages of sugar and five packages of tea. It is evident that the size of the package is determined by the price of the article per catty and varies with the prices. But as the purchases are generally made in small quantities, the weight is but seldom referred to. This is particularly true of the poor families which have to buy their articles of food at every meal.

Such being the case, there appear, therefore, in many items in our accounts only figures for the sums expended but not the quantities purchased. For this purpose, the investigators were instructed to report at frequent intervals the retail prices of the market for a great number of commodities and their monthly average prices were used to determine the quantities of articles bought by various families. For those commodities whose prices fluctuated but slightly during the six months of investigation, the general average of that whole period was used.

There were, besides, certain commodities which are always 435
sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity 437
they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out.

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have 128
to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been 511
made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows:

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 „ „ 10	50	50
10 „ „ 12	60	60
12 „ „ 13	70	60
13 „ „ 15	80	70
15 „ „ 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

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434 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower
465 than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-
434 earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it
465 would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular
511 among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsi-
465 derable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one
462 families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

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[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas. 434 431

As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent. 511

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the 312 5/1

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[1] See supra pp. 20-22

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Table 9.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in Six Months for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 48 Families, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for——					Total average expenses per family
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	
Under $70	3	3.67	2.60	$47.75	$8.00	$1.03	$10.74	$3.75	$71.28
$70 and under $110 ...	28	4.18	2.98	63.68	7.59	5.20	10.72	2.92	90.12
$110 and under $150 ...	14	5.36	4.09	87.02	7.81	8.72	12.62	3.35	119.52
$150 and under $190 ...	3	5.67	4.50	107.74	6.80	20.77	13.91	3.91	153.13
All incomes	48	4.58	3.38	72.25	7.63	6.94	11.48	3.16	101.45
	PER CENT								
Under $70	6.3	....	....	67.0	11.2	1.5	15.1	5.3	100.0
$70 and under $110 ...	58.3	....	....	70.7	8.4	5.8	11.9	3.2	100.0
$110 and under $150 ...	29.2	....	....	72.8	6.5	7.3	10.6	2.8	100.0
$150 and under $190 ...	6.3	....	....	70.4	4.4	13.6	9.1	2.6	100.0
All incomes	100.0	....	....	71.2	7.5	6.8	11.3	3.1	100.0

well to the consumer's home, its price increases with the rising 312
cost of living of the carrier. Consequently, families with low 511
earnings are compelled to reduce the use of water to its minimum. The effect of this upon their cleanliness and health cannot but be baneful.

More than 10 per cent of the total average expense, that is 374
$10.54, was expended on fuel and light. Of this amount, the 511
average percentages for the different items were distributed thus: coal balls, 67.1 per cent; kerosene, 17.2 per cent; charcoal, 11.6 per cent; wood, coal and matches, 4.2 per cent. The coal ball forms the chief fuel in Peking households. It is made by mixing coal dust and earth with water and hundreds of shops are engaged in its making and sale. As the coal ball formed more than 67 per cent of all expenses on fuel and light combined, its expense and quantity consumed may here be examined.

Table 10.—Average Expenses for and Quantity of Coal Balls per Family in 6 Months

Income group	Number of families	Average Expenses	Average Quantity *(in kilograms)*
Under $70	3	$5.90	505
$70 and under $110	28	6.51	557
$110 and under $150	14	8.10	693
$150 and under $190	3	8.75	749
All incomes	48	7.07	605

It will be observed from Table 10 that the consumption of coal balls per family per month amounted to about 100 kilograms. This figure, low as it is when compared with that for the working family of other countries,[1] must be considered as sufficiently high for the Peking family. However, some discount must still be made from this figure, because the accounts of our families were kept chiefly in the winter months, during which time the consumption of coal balls must have been particularly great. In the

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[1] Cf., for instance, five tons of coal and 26,000 cubic feet of gas which are allowed as a fair standard per year for an American labourer's family. *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia* 1919, New York. p. 51.

374 other months when coal balls are only used for cooking purposes,
511 the quantity consumed must be considerably less. Owing to the disorganization of transportation facilities around Peking, which has become almost chronic in recent years, Peking residents have constantly been threatened with coal shortage and as a consequence, the price of coal has almost doubled within the last few years. The average price of coal balls during the period of our investigation was about sixty-six cents per 100 catties or 56.3 kilograms.

The rising cost of coal balls had no doubt an adverse effect upon the families under investigation. Coupled with their low rate of earnings, it has automatically raised the percentage of their expenses on fuel and light enormously.

511 The miscellaneous group comprises eleven items. Of these, a few require a word of explanation. Thus, medical expenses included doctors' fees and medicine, while sanitary expenses covered soap, tooth-brush, hairdressing, and bathing. Toilet articles were made up of face-powder, hair oil, rouge and other things which the female members of the family habitually use for their toilet. Under tea and tobacco came also alcoholic drinks. Social expenses consisted of presents in money or in kind to friends or relatives. Rates were paid every month to the police for street lighting and cleaning, while contributions were sums given for charity or to the church. Sundries included expenses for celebrating festivals and the new year and also for other purposes not to be classified under the other ten items. Under the same heading was included also money spent on children, which generally meant refreshments and toys.

It has already been shown in Table 9 that the expenses for the miscellaneous group formed but a little more than 3 per cent of the total average expense per family. Now in Table 11 are shown the expenses of all the items of this group in detail. Except tea and tobacco and sundries, no item in this group figured as much as 1 per cent. Tea was consumed by forty-four families, amounting to $33.15; cigarettes and tobacco by fourteen

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[1] Cf. Meng and Gamble: ***Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking 1909-1924***, special supplement to the ***Chinese Social and Political Science Review***, July 1926. pp. 56-59.

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Table 11.—Average Amount of Expenditure in Six Months for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups

Incomes group	Number of families	Average expenses per family for—											Total
		Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	
Under $70	3	$0.20	—	$0.03	$0.02	$0.01	$0.06	—	$0.34	$0.02	—	$3.26	$3.75
$70 and under $110	28	.35	$0.03	.05	.09	.12	1.06	$0.02	.26	.04	$0.03	.88	2.92
$110 and under $150	14	.64	.04	.08	.11	.05	.87	—	.32	.01	(1)	1.21	3.35
$150 and under $190	3	.90	.02	—	.26	.07	1.38	—	.51	.01	—	.77	3.91
All incomes	48	.45	.03	.05	.10	.09	.96	.01	.30	.03	.02	1.12	3.16

[1] Less than $0.005

511 families, amounting to $7.37; and alcoholic drinks by fifteen families, amounting to $5.57. Under the sundries, expenses of thirty-seven families for celebrating the new year amounted to $46.48, while the expenses of forty-one families for such items as house repair, paper, dye-stuff and children's pocket money, amounted to $47.92.

On the whole, the low expenses in the miscellaneous group of items demonstrated clearly the low standard of living of the working families under investigation.

The income and expenditure of the working families may further be studied from another point of view, namely from that of sufficiency. It will be remembered that Table 2 in Chapter II, showed that after expenditure was deducted from the income, family by family, twenty-seven of the families were found to have a surplus, an average amount of $9.12 per family in six months, while twenty-one for the same period had on the average a deficit of $7.61 per family. Taken all the families together, however, it may be said that more families had a credit balance than a debit one and that the average amount of surplus was more than to counterbalance the average amount of deficit.

OTHER RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

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Our analysis of the income and expenditure of the working families in the foregoing paragraphs has adhered strictly to the definitions of them as stated in Chapter III, as items that did not conform with the definitions were excluded from our discussion. It seems that our study of the economic life of the working families would be incomplete if we should leave out their other receipts and disbursements. To these we shall now turn our attention.

Money receipts of the working families other than income proper consist of four kinds: (1) fund or loans from mutual aid or loan societies, (2) personal loans returned, (3) sums derived from pawning articles and (4) money borrowed from others. They will be described in the order of their importance.

426 member. The recipient of the money is decided each month by lot or by arrangement. In the latter case, the recipient of the fund would have to pay in the future, besides his usual monthly subscription, a premium, which is but interest in disguise. Such loan societies exist in abundance in this country. They may be organized at any time by any group of persons who know each other well; they function for a specified period of time, generally for ten or twelve months, and then dissolve themselves. No registration with or sanction from government authorities is required for the formation of such a society and even regulations or formal contracts are dispensed with, all arrangements being made verbally. The loan society, it must be admitted, often proves a boon to poor families for raising loans when some urgent need, such as wedding or funeral, forces them to expend a lump sum at one time. But, on the other hand, woe may be the lot of the subscriber, if the society he has joined is organized by an adventurer and turns into a bubble after a lapse of a few months. Furthermore, it should be observed that while the society no doubt affords certain facilities for borrowing money, it is far from pleasant or easy for the poor families to squeeze at a great sacrifice from their meagre income the necessary amount for the subscription to be paid each month.

426 Corresponding with the four kinds of receipts described
511 above, there is an equal number of disbursements. They are (1)
434 loan society subscription, (2) lending, (3) redemption of pawned articles and (4) repayment of debts.

In Table 12 are presented the average total receipts and the average total disbursements per family. From it one finds that money receipts other than the income proper amounted on the average to $6.97 per family, that is, 6.3 per cent on the average total receipts per family. Of the various forms of receipts, borrowing forms the major portion, being almost two-thirds of the total of receipts other than incomes.

On the other hand, payments other than expenditure proper amounted on the average to but $3.51 per family, which represented 3.2 per cent on the average total disbursements per family.

Table 12.—Average Amount of Receipts and Disbursements of 48 Families in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average receipts per family from—						Total av. receipts = Total av. disbursements + av. cash in hand	Average disbursements per family						Av. cash in hand
		Loans etc.				Total of loans etc.	Income		Expenditure	Total of payments etc.	Payments etc				
		Loan society fund	Loan returned	Pawning articles	Borrowing						Payment of money borrowed	Redemption of pawned articles	Lending	Loan society subscription	
Under $70	3	—	—	$1.76	$5.44	$7.19	$64.65	$71.84	$71.28	—	—	—	—	—	$0.56
$70 and under $110	28	$0.14	$0.18	1.89	4.98	7.19	90.29	97.48	90.12	$3.03	$2.65	$0.25	$0.04	$0.09	4.33
$110 and under $150	14	—	.76	2.77	3.61	7.14	124.58	131.72	119.52	4.67	3.29	1.37	—	.01	7.53
$150 and under $190	3	—	—	.76	3.17	3.92	163.40	167.32	153.13	6.12	2.82	.16	—	3.14	8.07
All incomes ...	48	.08	.33	2.07	4.49	6.97	103.26	110.23	101.45	3.51	2.68	.56	(1)	.25	5.27
PER CENT															
Under $70	6.5	—	—	2.4	7.6	10.0	90.0	100.0	99.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
$ 70 and under $110	58.3	.1	.2	1.9	5.1	7.4	92.6	100.0	92.4	3.1	2.7	.3	(2)	.1	4.4
$110 and under $150	29.2	—	.6	2.1	2.7	5.4	94.6	100.0	90.7	3.5	2.5	1.0	—	(2)	5.7
$150 and under $190	6.3	—	—	.5	1.9	2.3	97.7	100.0	91.5	3.7	1.7	.1	—	1.9	4.7
All incomes ...	100.0	.1	.3	1.9	4.1	6.3	93.7	100.0	92.0	3.2	2.4	.5	(2)	.2	4.8

[1] Less than $0.005

[2] Less than $0.05 per cent.

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426 It is interesting to note that payments were lower than loans,
● 511 though for the highest income group, the amount paid for the
434 loan society subscription was appreciably high.

From a study of the receipts and disbursements of the families under investigation, it may be maintained that, on the whole, their financial conditions were quite sound. The total receipts of all the families were on the average more than sufficient to balance their disbursements. With the exception of the three families in the lowest income group, the family income was all on the average larger than the expenditure, while receipts other than income also exceeded the total for repayments, lending, redemption of pawned articles and loan society subscription. As a result, a good amount of cash in hand was netted to them.[1] But it should be added that even then, their general conditions of living can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. On the one hand, their living standard was on the whole low, while, on the other, they merely led an existence from hand to mouth, for, like all families that depend upon their slender earnings for a living, they had neither savings nor investments to fall back upon in case of emergency. So long as their earnings are received regularly, the existing standard of living can be maintained. Once their earnings are cut off, they are reduced to beggary.

The prospect of the families of the lowest income group was of course much worse. Exactly 10 per cent of their receipts was derived from borrowing and pawning their possessions. Obviously this is an impossible position; no family can depend perpetually on loans for a part of its living expenses, if it lacks any prospect of repaying them. In time, sources of borrowing must be closed to them while the scanty wardrobe of the family will cease to supply articles for pawning purposes. Ultimately, such a family will have either to seek charitable aid as its main support or to adopt other means, noble or ignoble, wise or otherwise, to maintain its existence.

511 Two points in Table 12 are worthy of attention. First, it
434 will be seen that the higher is the family in the income group,

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[1] See the last column of Table 12.

the higher is its percentage of income on the total average 511
receipts. As the family climbs up to a higher income group, the 434
proportion of its income among the total receipts appears to be ever increasing while loans and other receipts of similar nature decreases in importance. Secondly, it is shown that the higher is the family in the income group, the lower is its percentage of expenditure on the total average disbursements. Thus, in families of higher income groups, it happened that either the proportion of disbursements other than expenditure become greater or a greater amount of cash is kept in their hands, or both.

FAMILY SUPPORTERS AND DEPENDENTS

Membership of the forty-eight working families having been 465
considered in Chapter IV, it will be of interest now to study the 511
members from the standpoint of their earning capacity. From our study of expenditure, it was found that the average expenditure per equivalent adult in six months was equal to $30.04, that is, about five dollars per month. To be exact, it was distributed in the following manner :—

Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneons	Total
$21.39	$2.26	$2.05	$3.40	$0.94	$30.04

This figure ($30.04 in six months) may be considered as the average expense an equivalent adult has to spend for his bare subsistence. This average living expense appears to be very low and it may be quite reasonably regarded as the minimum for the subsistence of the individual. To go below this would certainly mean privation and suffering, even though many persons might be, and in fact are, able to maintain their living at much less expense. Using this individual minimum as a criterion, it has been possible for us to distinguish two classes of persons : family supporters whose earnings in six months were above thirty dollars and partial dependents whose earnings in six months were below this figure. Those who had no earnings whatsoever were complete dependents. It must be observed that the criterion here adopted is theoretical, for in actual life latitude must be granted to different

465 individuals in spending. With this in view, we have therefore to
511 classify as self-supporters those earning between $30,00 and $40.00; for the younger persons, their earnings for self-support were reduced according to the scale of the equivalent adult. The distribution of the four classes of persons is shown in the table below.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults
Family supporters	55	54.2	1.15	1.13
Self-supporters	9	7.8	.19	.16
Partial dependents......	87	66.4	1.81	1.38
Complete dependents...	69	33.7	1.44	.70
Total......	220	162.1	4.58	3.38

Leaving aside self-supporters, it will be seen that on the average each family supporter had to maintain almost three dependents. In terms of equivalent adult, the proportion between the two is one to 1.8. On the average, each family may be said to comprise one family supporter, that is, the husband, and three dependents, that is, the wife and their two children. In seven of our working families, it was found that two persons were earning in each what may be called the family supporting wage; they were usually either the somewhat aged father and the adult son, or two sons in adult age who were fresh in life's struggles and had just assumed the burden of maintaining a family. One interesting case was illustrated by the family in which none of the members was earning a family-supporting wage, the father being over fifty years of age, and it was mainly supported by its income of fifty dollars from the rental on land.

On the average, the family supporter earned about $11.00 per month, while the partial dependent nearly $1.20 per month. It appeared that the earnings of the former were just sufficient to support, besides himself, 1.19 equivalent adults, that is to say, the wife and a child under five, while that of the latter could hardly

maintain 0.23 of an equivalent adult, that is, an infant under 465
two. 511

The earning power of the workers under investigation was indeed appallingly low. Whether this was due to their low intelligence or lack of education, to an over-supply of labour, to the disorganization of trade, or to the low standard of living in Peking in general, it is impossible to say off-hand. It seems that all of these have combined to make the living of the working families as low as they are here presented. But the most important aspect of the problem that is relevant to our discussion is what the families with more members than they are able to support should do to overcome the lowness of their earnings. It is evident that two ways are open to them. Either they must reduce still further their standard of living, by using, for instance, cheaper kinds of food or by cutting down certain items of expenditure—the effect of either would naturally be ruinous to the health of the families—or they have to rely upon aid from outside, in order to maintain their existing living conditions.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

So far, our analysis of the income and expenditure of the 511
families has been made only according to the level of their in- 434
comes. It has doubtless yielded very important results, some of 465
which have already been dealt with in this chapter. But in view of the fact that the families under investigation were not of a uniform size, it seems that the population factor should not be disregarded altogether. For, generally speaking, the conditions of living must vary with the size of the family. And it will be our task at present to study the correlation between the size of the family and its cost of living.

When reduced to the number of equivalent adults, the families under investigation may be divided into four groups. While half of the families had from 2.5 to 3.5 equivalent adults per family, almost four-fifths of them had less than four equi-

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Table 13.—Average Income and Expenditure in Six Months per Family and per Equivalent Adult, by Equivalent Adults in Family

Equivalent adults in family	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family	Average income		Average expenditure		Average general food expenses		Percentage of food expenses on total expenditure	Average food expenses at home		Calories per equi. adult taking meals at home per day
			Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult		Per family	Per equivalent adult	
1.50-2.49	5	2.16	$74.79	$34.63	$73.37	$33.97	$47.50	$21.99	64.7	$38.32	$20.04	2787
2.50-3.49	24	2.93	97.00	31.75	91.44	31.23	64.26	21.95	70.3	46.28	19.13	2732
3.50-4.49	14	4.00	122.29	30.60	119.43	29.89	87.91	22.00	73.6	52.23	17.34	2529
4.50 and over	5	5.02	127.90	25.49	127.29	25.37	93.48	18.63	73.4	67.77	15.42	2272
All groups	48	3.38	103.26	30.58	101.45	30.04	72.25	21.39	71.2	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~	~~[illegible]~~
										49.43	18.00	2595

valent adults each. It will be seen from Table 13 that, on the 511
average, the total income, the total expenditure, the total food 434
expenses and also the food expenses at home per family all 465
followed the rise of the number of equivalent adults in it. This is what is to be expected, for, any rise in the economic status of the family, whether in regard to its income or to its expenditure, is generally due to an increase of its members who are able to contribute to the income of the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that to the class of families which we have investigated, an enlargement of membership in the family must bring with it at once an increase of income as well as of expenditure. Apparently, such an increase seems to be a boon to the family, but, if we are to calculate the income and expenditure according to each equivalent adult, it will be just the reverse. Although an increase of family members frequently results in an increase of the family income, yet the two do not usually keep an equal pace and the additional income is constantly exceeded by the expenses required for supporting the additional member or members. It will be observed in Table 13 that the more equivalent adults there were in the family, the less was the amount of both the income and expenditure to each of them. Similarly, both the total food expenses and the food expenses at home per equivalent adult also varied in inverse proportion with the number of equivalent adults in the family—except in the third group in which there appears to be a very slight increase in the average total food expenses per equivalent adult. Thus, with the growth of the size of the family, the cost of living per equivalent adult tends to decline, while that per family seemingly rises. This decreasing tendency is not only evidenced in the average total expenditure and average food expenses per equivalent adult, as has already been referred to, but is also clearly shown in the calories and also in the rental per equivalent adult.[1]

Furthermore, it will be seen that the percentage of food expenses also follows the tendency of the increase of the number

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of equivalent adults in the family. This is quite natural, as more members there are in the family, more expenses must be used for food. In this connection, it is important to refer to the food percentages of the various income groups in Table 9 of this chapter. There, it was found that the food percentages showed no tendency to decrease in the higher income groups—a fact which seems to contradict Engel's preposition, that the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence. But if we view the fact in the light of the present discussion, the irregularity may be attributed to the different sizes of the families. Obviously, it is the population factor that has upset what should be a normal tendency in food expenditure.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the size of the family has an important bearing on the welfare of its individual members. It suggests to us that an increase of the members in the family will call for a much greater increase in its income, in order to maintain its standard of living, than its additional members could possibly contribute. That is to say, the growth of the size of the family will always bring its living standard down. Confining at least to the class of families under investigation, one may maintain with certainty that population is a much more potent force as a pressure upon the individual, and of course also the family, welfare, than as a blessing, as is generally conceived, that brings in more earnings to the family group. While it is as yet impossible to determine to what extent this population pressure is due to the low earning capacity of the Chinese labourer or to the social and industrial conditions that affect employment and rate of wages, there seems to be no doubt that population itself is a powerful factor which will up to a certain extent bring to it its own destruction. It is not our business here to study in the light of our discussion further into the problem of population in its local or national aspects, but the few data yielded by our inquiry undoubtedly lead us to believe that in order to promote the general welfare of the working family, a limitation of its size would be one of the most effective measures urgently needed in this country.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OR LOCALITIES REVIEWED

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Our analysis of the expenditure of the forth-eight families reveals the extremely deplorable conditions of their life. While the primary necessities of life which include food, clothing, shelter and fuel, light and water constituted almost 97 per cent, food alone formed more than 70 per cent of the total average expenses per family. Hardly any money, it seems, was left to the family for securing things other than the bare necessities of life. Education, recreation, social intercourse, appreciation of art and literature, in short, all the blessings that the modern civilized man is heir to are almost wholly denied them. It is indeed a terrible life, if it implies nothing but an animal existence. In this connection, it seems that a review of the distribution of expenditure of working classes in other countries would be pertinent to a more thorough understanding of the living conditions of our working families.

It is obvious that any direct comparison of figures regarding the cost of living between any two peoples must be made with the greatest caution, since inquiries might be conducted on different lines, for different classes of persons and at different times; besides, conditions relating to the standard of living, general economic situation, prices and wage scales are in no two cases exactly alike. All this, however, does not prevent us from quoting figures for the cost of living of working classes in other countries, since our aim is to bring out the striking contrast of the distribution of expenditure in different countries rather than to institute any direct comparison of the conditions under which working populations of different countries live. Obviously, all such factors as industrial development, economic structure, political organization, general intelligence etc. which not only affect but also determine the living conditions of the people, should be dismissed from our consideration.

According to the inquiries made by the British Board of Trade during the years 1907 to 1910 for studying the cost of living of the working families in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the United States and Germany, the proportion of income spent on food was in all cases much lower than that in the Peking working families. In Australia, this is still more reduced, as according to Knibbs, the percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the average income for the groups having income of £200 and under and families of more than four members was 36 per cent in 1911. The figures[1] for the various countries may be shown in the following table.

Percentages of Food Expenditure on Average Income for Labourers

Peking	France	United Kingdom	Belgium	Germany	United States	Australia
70.0	59.7	57.0	56.9	54.4	53.7	36.0

The distribution of groups of expenses adopted by the British Ministry of Labour since 1914 for constructing the cost of living index numbers somewhat approximates that of our Peking working families. The distribution of groups is as follows: food, 60 per cent, housing 16 per cent, clothings 12 per cent, fuel and light 8 per cent, other items 4 per cent. It is said that this distribution of income is close to that of Rowntree's "Physical efficiency minimum,"[2] but higher figures for the food percentage vis-a-vis the total income at times in obtained Great Britain. Thus, the Sumner Committee calculated that in June, 1918, the food percentage for the skilled labourers was 60.5 per cent, for the semiskilled 63.4 per cent, and for the unskilled 64.9 per cent. According to Rowntree, "the poorest class of workers in York, with 18s. a week or less, spent 73.5 per cent of their income on food and 22.3 per cent on rent." If this were so, then, only 4.2 per cent would

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[1] The percentage figures are taken from G. H. Knibbs. *Inquiry into the Cost of Living in Australia, 1910-11.* p. 14.

[2] For this and the following figures in this paragraph, see Norman Dearle, *The Cost of Living,* London, 1926. pp. 58-59. This is an intelligent discussion of the cost of living with particular reference to its measurement and history in Great Britain.

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be left for such items as clothing and fuel and light. As the percentage of food expense in normal times is a rough indication of the level of income, it seems that the condition of our Peking working families, relatively speaking, is not of the very worst. However, it should be borne in mind that the distribution of the cost of living is to be studied in relation to the social, industrial and political conditions under which a people live. For instance, any two peoples may spend the same proportion of their income for food, yet even if we assume that food prices as well as other things are practically the same in the two places, the people living in a country where stringent laws against adulterated foods are enforced would undoubtedly get more out of their food expenses. Similarly, any people enjoying state provision of educational facilities would receive much more from their educational expenses, no matter how insignificant they may be, than those who are burdened with a heavy expenditure for the education of the young on account of the lack of such state provision. All this goes to show that such state and municipal activities or undertakings as tend in the long run to reduce the cost of living of the people in some form are to be strongly commended.

As is to be expected, in all the family budget studies of working people in the United States, the distribution of the family expenditure over the various groups of consumable goods showed a very marked improvement. The percentage of food expenses vis-a-vis the total expenditure was invariably low, while the money spent for sundries at times attained as high as 26.4 per cent.[1]

Now if we turn to Japan, where many family budget studies have been conducted, we find that the prevailing tendency of the distribution of expenditure was to allot more than 70 per cent to what is known as necessary living expenses.[2] The following figures taken from a summary which appeared in a report of a survey on the cost of living of the Japanese employees of the South Manchurian Railway,[1] may perhaps be of interest :—

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[1] For a detailed analysis of all the budgetary studies in the United States previous to 1920, see *Family Budgets of American Wage Earners.* National Industrial Conference Board. Research Report No. 41, 1921.

[2] In most of the Japanese inquiries, the cost of living is divided into three kinds, primary, secondary and tertiary. The first corresponds with

Inquiry	Primary living expenses	Cultural Expenses	
		Secondary living expenses	Tertiary living expenses
	per cent	*per*	*cent*
Kyo-Cho-Kai 1921-22	51.61	13.92	34.47
Nagoya Municipality 1922 ...	55.97	15.84	28.19
Kanagawa Prefecture 1910-11	80.00 (approx.)	15.00	5.00
Yokosuka Dockyard 1910 ...	72.30	27.67	
Nagasaki Dockyard 1912 (?) ...	69.70	30.30	
Osaka Municipality 1910 ...	74.07	25.93	
Dr. Takano 1916	72.62	27.38	
Tokyo Prefecture 1919	71.40	29.10	
Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce 1910 (?)	74.07	26.01	

Lastly, the results of a few family budget studies conducted in Peking should be mentioned.[2] Between 1918 and 1924, altogether seven studies had been made by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, Dr. Ta Chen and Dr. Louise Morrow; they were all conducted by the questionnaire method. Their results are as follows :

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expenses for necessities of life including food, housing, clothing and public dues, while the other two may be called cultural expenses, including such items as expenses for education, sanitation, social intercourse, recreation, transportation, savings and insurance. Four inquiries have been summarily treated in Ayusawa, *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1926.

[1] The report was published in Japanese by the South Manchurian Railway in 1924. See p. 93.

[2] These studies have been summarized in Meng and Gamble, Op. cit., pp. 60-63.

Inquiry	Food	Clothing	Rent	Light and Fuel	Miscellaneous
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
93 Tsing Hua College Employees (1918)	72.2	19.03	6.7	*	3.17
100 Peking Suburban Chinese Families (1918) ...	76.53	6.18	7.94	2.5	2.5
95 Peking Suburban Manchu Families (1918) ...	73.2	5.31	9.00	5.96	5.48
141 Tsing Hua College Employees (1923-4)	61.8	16.5	13.0	*	8.7
91 Peking Suburban Families (1924)	62.22	29.63	4.44	3.7	—
200 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	73.6	6.6	11.1	*	8.5
77 Kung Chang Workers (1922-3)	87.0	2.5	8	*	5.0
Average	70.0	12.	8	5	5

Of these inquiries, the first three were conducted by Dr. C. G. Dittmer, the next two, by Dr. Ta Chen, and the last two, by Dr. Louise Morrow.

* The cost of the light and fuel is included in the food expenses.

It will be seen that of all the Peking studies cited above the distribution of expenditure of the 100 Peking suburban Chinese families in 1918 and of the 77 Kung Chang workers in 1922-3 approaches most closely that of our own inquiry. Regarding these two studies, it seems that the expenses for light and fuel in the former and those for clothing in the latter were very much underestimated.

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
	PER CENT				
$45- 69.9...	....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	....	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	....	26	35	39	100

2. His own living expenses, which consist of his own food at home and abroad and other expenses, such as clothing, rent, etc. 494 511
3. Sums which were spent for the support of the family; that is, the remainder of his total earnings after deducting the ricksha rent and his own living expenses.

One of the noteworthy features in the foregoing table is that the ricksha rent follows the increase of the income, though its percentage is diminishing with it. However, on the whole, persons of the higher income groups would still find themselves better off even though they had to pay high rents for new smart-looking rickshas. Nevertheless, the rent remains always a heavy burden to the rickshaman, for it consumes on the average one-fourth and in some cases as much as one-third of his total earnings.

In view of the extortionate rent charged by the ricksha owners, it would be interesting to inquire into the rate of his profit. The cost of the ricksha, of course, varies with its quality. A high-grade ricksha would cost at the maker's about one hundred dollars at the time the inquiry was conducted. It would last on the average six years, but during this period, extra expenses, such as repair, new tyres and paints have also to be borne by the owner. For the first two or three years, it would yield to the owner twenty cents a day and sixty dollars a year on the condition that it is hired out continuously for 300 days. According to this estimate, therefore, it seems safe to say that the ricksha owner would make 60 per cent per annum out of his invested capital in the first two or three years when the vehicle is in good new condition. As a matter of fact, however, this suggests too rosy a prospect for the ricksha owner, for it must be remembered that apart from the expenses for repair, new tyres and so on, which go to make up the wear and tear of the ricksha, he is also burdened with taxes and rents and overhead charges for his establishment; he may have to incur losses in case his vehicle is so greatly damaged as to be beyond repair or there are constant defaults of payment of rent by rickshamen; and 494

494 lastly, his rickshas may have to lie idle for many a day because of lack of hirers. And in this way his profit is dwindling until it drops to about 20 per cent. Consequently, when all these facts are taken into consideration, the ricksha owner is, after all, not such a cold-blooded capitalist who takes the advantage of his position by exploiting the helpless, proverty-ridden class of rickshamen, as the oppressive rent he charges seems to indicate, and his profits are not so awfully high.[1]

494 511 The rise in the personal living expenses of the rickshaman follows closely the rise of his total earnings, and in this case, too, their percentage decreases as earnings increase. As regards the expenses for supporting families, however, they increase both in absolute amount and percentage with the increase of total earnings. In other words, if a rickshaman's earnings are high, both his personal and family expenditures seem to be high also, although his personal expenses tend to be low in proportion to his total earnigs. To elaborate this point still further and with a view to gaining some idea of the relative importance of various expenses, it is worthwhile to differentiate the expenses for food from those for other items, such as rent, clothing etc. and classify them under the personal expenses of the rickshaman and those of his family.

It appears from Table 23 that the food expenses of the rickshaman are higher than those of his family, the reasons whereof will be explained later, while the other expenses which comprise house rent, an important item of the budget, clothing and other miscellaneous charges are for both cases necessarily about equal, as they are deducted from those for all members of the families. The interesting feature to be noted in this table is that, with the exception of the persons of the last group, food expenses rise simultaneously with the earnings, while other expenses, in spite of the rise of the latter, remain stationary. From this fact, one may, perhaps, infer that the rickshaman's earnings

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[1] Interest rates in China are rather high. 10 per cent per annum for loans is considered low and 12 per cent very reasonable.

are, as a rule, barely sufficient even for the food expenses of 494
himself and of his family and that any increase of his earnings, 511
if there be, would at once be used either to increase the quantity or to improve the quality of the food they consume. Persons of the last income group seemed to fare better, for in this case there appears a lower percentage in food and a higher percentage in other expenses.

Table 23.—Average Expenditure per Equivalent Adult in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	Rickshaman		Total	Members other than Rickshaman		Total
	Food	Others		Food	Others	
$45- 69.9 ...	$20.02	$5.66	$25.68	$18.59	$5.66	$24.25
70- 94.9 ...	26.43	5.82	32.25	20.50	5.55	26.05
95-119.9 ...	29.25	5.66	34.90	22.03	5.73	27.76
120-144.9 ...	28.53	7.86	36.39	24.79	7.94	32.73
All incomes ...	27.13	5.87	33.00	21.16	5.75	26.91
			PER CENT			
$45- 69.9 ...	78	22	100	77	23	100
70- 94.9 ...	82	18	100	79	21	100
95-119.9 ...	84	16	100	79	21	100
120-144.9 ...	78	22	100	76	24	100
All incomes ...	82	18	100	79	21	100

N. B. In this as well as the following table, fuel and water have been included in the food expenses for better comparing the food cost at home and on the street.

Mention has been made of the higher food cost of the ricksha- 494
man compared with that of the persons taking meals at home. 262
It is now necessary to study a little more closely the conditions 511
that give rise to such a discrepancy. In our accounts, the quality and quantity of food consumed by rickshamen outside their homes were not given. Independent inquiries were then instituted into the principal cereals they consume most and the average expenses

494 they spend for food on the street. It was found that apart from 262 salted pickles or other flavoured dishes, they consumed at their 511 two meals from 840 to 1,100 grams of wheat flour per day. Compared with the food consumed by persons at home, which consisted mainly of corn flour and millet flour, wheat is obviously better in quality, being more nutritious and easily digestible and higher in cost. Considering the quantity of wheat alone which the rickshamen consumed as their main food, it yields a fuel value of from 3,000 to 4,000 calories; such figures are decidedly higher even than those of the persons of the last income group taking meals at home. On the whole, the rickshamen's diet away from home is better in quality, great in quantity, and higher in cost. And this, it may be suggested, is chiefly due to the following reasons.

Table 24.—Average Food Expenses per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of Rick-shamen	Average number of meals in 6 months		Average expense per meal		Average food expense in 6 months		Food consumption at home per equivalent adult per day (*calories*)
		Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	Outside home	At home	
$ 45- 69 9	2	18	344	$.114	$.052	$2.00	$18.02	2.296
70- 94.9	20	101	261	.109	.059	11.00	15.43	2,645
95-119.9	12	138	224	.111	.062	15.29	13.96	2,765
120-144.9	2	97	265	.110	.067	10.67	17.86	2,918
All incomes	36	108	254	.110	.060	11.91	15.22	2,670

Firstly, ricksha pulling being hard work, it requires an immense amount of energy to be expended. The rickshaman has therefore either to take a greater amount of food or improve his diet, or both. Either or both would tax his lean purse. Secondly, as has already been noted, food supplied by stores is necessarily more costly than that cooked by one's own people at home, for dealers in food, besides having certain charges to meet, would naturally sell it at a profit and the rickshaman's food expenses on the street are therefore increased. Finally, various kinds of food exhibited in the stalls furnish to him a constant attraction,

too strong to be resisted by the hungry stomach, particularly as 494
he happens to have cash ready in hand. Consequently there is 262
every reason to believe that the rickshaman would spend more 511
of his earnings for food when he is on the street.

One interesting feature in Table 24 shows, however, that persons of both the lowest and highest groups in our inquiry took more meals at home. As an explanation of this, it may be suggested that those of low earning capacity could not afford to buy ready-made meals from outside, so as to reduce still more their scanty earnings, seeing that they would be more costly, while those with higher earnings had no need to take their meals outside, because their diet at home appears to have become fairly wholesome.

In our study of the food consumption in a previous chapter, it has been shown that the calories per equivalent adult per day were decreasing progressively with the rise of family income. It has further been pointed out that this feature was a result of the increasing size of the family. In the case of the rickshaman, however, a reverse tendency is noticed, for the higher the income of the rickshaman, the greater was the number of calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day. It is interesting to note that this in no way disproves our previous statement, but, on the contrary, confirms it. Again, it is the population factor that shows its influence, for it was discovered that the rickshaman's family did not grow with the increase of his earnings; in fact, it showed a tendency to remain almost stationary. As we are going to point out below, it is possible that the size of the rickshaman's family is limited by his earnings.

It has been shown in Table 23 that with the first and second income groups, what remained to the total earnings of the individual rickshaman after deducting his rent for the vehicle which he had to pay was divided between himself and his family, and of this amount only less than one half was delivered to the family for its support. With the other two groups, the conditions seem to have improved, as a greater portion of the earnings that remained went to support the family members. In analysing the

494 family members, it has been found that the number of equivalent
262 adults supported by the rickshaman with his earnings was very
511 limited. With the lowest income group, the earnings of an individual could support only half an adult, beside himself, while even with the highest income group, they could barely support two. It appears that even the rickshaman whose total earnings are twenty dollars a month could hardly support three fully grown-up members including himself. To maintain the standard of living as is exemplified in this study, it seems that his family should consist only of his wife and two children, each of whom must be under eleven years of age. Yet such an ideal family can hardly be met with among the rickshamen, for all the thirty-six of them under investigation had on the average 3.4 equivalent adults in each family. It is, therefore, obvious that their earnings are insufficient to support some of their family members and that they had to fall back upon other sources of income to feed them, such as earnings of sons and daughters, presents from relatives, or even public relief. If these sources fail them, loans and mortgages must be resorted to as a means to tide over their privations. This, it should be noted, refers only to the rickshaman having high earning capacity. As regards the rickshamen of the lowest income group, their conditions are naturally much worse, for they had on the average 2.2 equivalent adults, who could not be fed with their earnings.

Table 25.—Family Supporting Capacity per Rickshaman, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average amount for supporting family in 6 months	Average number of equivalent adults per family		
			Suppported by rickshaman's earnings[1]	Not supported by rickshaman's earnings	Total
$45- 69.9 ...	2	$12.47	0.5	2.2	3.7
70- 94.9 ..	20	31.63	1.2	1.1	3.3
95-119.9 ...	12	45.02	1.6	1.0	3.6
120-144.9 ...	2	60.98	1.9	0.7	3.6
All incomes	36	36.66	1.4	1.0	3.4

[1] Not including the rickshaman.

875 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of
434 their expenditures.

465 Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
„ 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
„ 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
„ 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
„ 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
„ 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
„ 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
„ 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
„ 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
„ 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
„ 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
„ 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.

[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.

[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.

[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.

[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.

[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

875 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers
511 may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

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Table 28.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Principal Groups of Cost of Living

Families having members of—*	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average expenses per family for—					Total average expenses per family in one month
		Total	Equivalent adult males	Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneous	
4 and under … …	7	3.4	2.74	13.74	5.21	5.85	3.54	8.61	36.97
Over 4 … … …	5	7.4	5.56	24.60	7.15	7.43	5.91	17.62	62.72
All families …	12	5.1	3.92	18.27	6.02	6.51	4.53	12.37	47.70
	PER CENT								
4 and under … …	58.3	……	…………	37.2	14.1	15.8	9.6	23.3	100.0
Over 4 … … …	41.7	……	…………	39.2	11.4	11.9	9.4	28.1	100.0
All families …	100.0	……	…………	38.3	12.6	13.7	9.5	25.9	100.0

875 sisting of twelve items. which required $12.37, that is a little
511 more than one quarter of the total expenditure. To clothing went $6.51 and to the house rent, $6.02, both combined representing more than one quarter of the total cost of living, while the fuel, light and water cost only $4.53, being less than 10 per cent of the total. It is noteworthy that of the miscellaneous group, the social expenses rose to as much as 5.7 per cent. This fact clearly shows that social intercourse has become an important function among the teachers. Sundries which include such items as paper, expenses for ancestral worship, payment of services, cost about $2.00, that is, 4.2 per cent of the total expenditure.

The expenses for primary necessities of life of the family of the elementary school teacher per month amounted on the average to $35.33, that is 74.1 per cent on its total expenditure.

It should be pointed out at this place that the figures for the various expenses mentioned in the above, in particular those for clothing, fuel and light, were all checked up by the yearly figures furnished by the teachers, since the data of the account books which were only confined to the month of November could hardly be considered as typical of the cost of living for the whole year.

When the expenditure of the two groups of families for the various items are considered separately, it will be observed that the amounts spent by the families of more than four members were greater than those spent by the families of smaller size. This is indeed quite natural, as an increase of family members would call for an increase of living expenses. But if the percentages for the various groups are studied, it will be found that the increase of the various amounts of expenditure was not at all uniform in all cases. In the families of greater size, it happened that the percentages for the expenses of food and miscellaneous items tended to increase whereas those for expenses on house rent, clothing and fuel, light and water all tended to decrease. That food expenses should rise with the growth of the size of the family is quite natural, as more members there are in a family, more food would be consumed by them. But the note-

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Table 29.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Month for the Miscellaneous Items.

Families having members of—	Furniture and utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary expenses	Toilet articles	Tea, tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social expenses	Rates and contributions	Educational expenses	Sundries	Postage	Total
4 and under...	.56	.81	.66	.54	.16	.99	.62	1.88	.05	1.02	1.21	.13	8.61
Over 4	1.35	1.65	1.19	.79	.99	1.64	1.34	3.88	.04	1.53	3.08	.14	17.60
All families	.89	1.15	.88	.64	.51	1.26	.92	2.71	.05	1.23	1.99	.14	12.37
	PER CENT ON TOTAL EXPENDITURE.												
4 and under...	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.5	.4	2.7	1.7	5.1	.1	2.8	3.3	.4	23.3
Over 4	2.2	2.6	1.9	1.3	1.6	2.6	2.1	6.2	.1	2.4	4.9	.2	28.1
All families	1.9	2.4	1.8	1.4	1.1	2.6	1.9	5.7	.1	2.6	4.2	.3	25.9

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worthy fact is that the percentages for the latter group of expenses should have been reduced. It may be maintained that, assuming the income to be constant, an increase of the size of the family often results in cutting down certain of its expenditures, and hence, on the whole, its general living expenses do not increase proportionately with the growth of its size. Thus, among the teachers, the average amount of living expenses per equivalent adult per day in the small-sized family was $13.49, but the same in the great-sized family was reduced to $11.28.

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Regarding the question whether or not the pay of the elementary school teacher is sufficient to maintain the family, it is appropriate to study the balance sheet of their income and expenditure. Considering the teachers' salary alone, which is forty dollars per month, it is obvious that the family of four members or less would find it quite sufficient—that is, if it is paid in full—because it still left, after having met the various charges of expenditure, an average surplus amount of $3.03. But this question, it seems, should be further studied in connection with incomes other than that of the teacher, since most of the teachers' families had received incomes from two or three sources. And for our present purpose, we shall consider only two cases; in one case, the salary of the teacher is paid in full while in another, his salary is reduced 50 per cent, for this was what actually occurred to the elementary school teachers in the year 1926. The two cases are shown in the following table:

Families having members of—	Number of families	If salaries are fully paid					If only 50 per cent of the salaries are paid				
		Surplus		Deficit		Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	Surplus		Deficit		Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Families amount	
4 and under	7	5	$22.28	2	$6.42	+$14.08	3	$8.79	4	$20.58	—$7.99
Over 4 ...	5	3	8.85	2	11.67	+ .64	—	—	5	21.94	—21 94
All ...	12	8	17.25	4	9.05	+ 8.48	3	8.79	9	21.33	—13.80

It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of 875
the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families 511 ●
having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families hav- 465
ing an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save under very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our 875
budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined 262
to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year.

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

not living in an overcrowded condition. It should, however, be 875
added that our study of housing was merely to take the rooms 312
without giving any consideration to their respective uses. Every room was counted as one, whether it be the bed-room, the kitchen, or the lavatory. It is possible that this way of counting the rooms, originally used for measuring the housing conditions of the workers and determining their state of overcrowding, is inadequate in a study of the housing of teachers' families. For instance, it may be urged that what is considered a fair standard of housing for the worker is too low for the teacher.

Our inquiry of the living conditions of the elementary school 875
teachers' families revealed no doubt a decided advance from 511
those of the working families. The food cost of the former per equivalent adult per month was $4.70 as against the latter's 3.60. The general living expenses of the former per equivalent adult per month was $12.00 as against the latter's $5.00. All this demonstrates clearly the superior position of the teacher in the general scale of living. But it should be remembered that our calculation was based on the assumption that he is paid regularly and in full each month. In point of fact, however, the precarious conditions of life, as he has found himself in these recent years when educational expenditure was constantly withheld by the government, must have reduced his living to a state hardly any better than that of the Peking worker. If some of the workers could live on "the minimum of subsistence level" which "allows little or nothing for the needs of men as social creatures," the elementary school teacher can hardly be considered to have advanced much towards "the minimum of health and comfort level" which provides "not only for the material needs of food, shelter and body covering but also for certain comforts such as clothing sufficient for bodily comfort and to maintain the wearer's instinct of self-respect and decency, some insurance against the more important misfortunes—death, disability and fire — good education for the children, some

875 amusement and some expenditures for self development."[1]

511 The elementary school teacher has an extremely important function to perform in this country. China is now gradually emerging from mediaevalism; the stupendous changes in every phase of life that took western nations centuries she is to recapitulate in decades. In this ever quickening process of evolution, the services of the elementary school teacher, in particular, will be found invaluable. For it lies mainly in his hand that the growing minds of the younger generation are properly cared for. And it is he, amongst others, that will be instrumental in developing generations of men and women into efficient members of our Republic as well as of the modern world. When the function of the teacher is conceived in this light, it is clear that, even though he is paid regularl and in full every month, his standard of living, as is represented in our inquiry, is still far from adequate.

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[1] These levels are suggested by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics. See "Tentative Cost and Quantity Budget." *Monthly Labour Review*, Dec., 1919.

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APPENDIX II
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APPENDIX II.

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	33.254	6.000	1.878	10.855	.690	.053	—	.063	—	—	.190	—	.795	.080	—	3.046	56.894
2	46.876	9.000	.667	9.011	1.154	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	.119	—	—	4.581	71.419
3	63.117	9.000	.556	9.236	1.287	.003	—	.032	.045	.011	—	—	.106	—	—	2.141	85.534
4	61.045	6.000	.932	6.290	.868	—	—	—	—	—	.011	—	—	—	—	.070	75.216
5	54.855	9.000	3.213	8.656	1.019	.008	—	—	—	.005	.340	—	—	—	—	.069	77.165
6	38 933	8.400	1.322	8.041	.528	.024	—	—	.016	—	1.040	—	—	.032	—	.632	58.968
7	59.076	7.200	3.429	10.382	.504	.093	—	—	011	—	.175	—	—	—	—	.497	81.367
8	51.252	9.000	7.449	8.749	.968	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.708	80.126
9	59.061	8.400	3.109	8.335	.544	.122	—	—	.072	—	.902	—	.227	.032	—	.806	81 610
10	51.802	8.400	3.894	11.437	1.013	.125	—	—	.112	.027	1.159	—	.265	.021	—	1.454	79.709
11	72.966	9.000	.200	9.857	.992	—	—	—	—	—	.029	—	—	—	—	1.454	94.496
12	67.731	4.080	2.450	7.066	.956	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.027	82.310
13	48.115	8.400	6.674	9.859	.673	.008	—	—	.123	.048	1.146	—	.159	.048	—	.804	76.057
14	56.922	8.400	5.192	11.016	.780	.005	.159	—	.063	.067	2.284	.127	.318	.032	—	.324	85.689
15	51.102	6.000	4.741	10.929	.892	.070	—	.202	.417	.049	.812	—	.583	—	—	2.697	78.494
16	52.542	8.400	7.717	11.055	.769	.074	—	.106	.101	.059	1.000	—	.490	.032	—	1.026	83.361
17	57.558	9.600	3.945	10.094	.852	.800	—	.212	.217	.064	1.152	—	—	.032	—	.300	84.816

APPENDIX II.—*(Continued)*

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
18	78.073	7.200	13.582	13.295	.860	.886	.090	—	.566	2.429	9.579	.080	2.016	—	.875	4.677	134.208
19	54.336	6.000	7.599	8.717	.658	.016	.074	.382	.011	—	.065	.032	.265	—	—	.554	78 709
20	58.302	6.000	11.289	9.116	814	—	—	.212	.029	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.664	86.453
21	64.997	6.900	7.963	7.862	1.067	4.505	—	—	.042	—	.417	—	—	—	—	.334	94.081
22	72.382	7.200	3.448	11.455	.629	.082	—	—	.186	.021	1.018	.111	—	.011	—	.562	97.105
23	68.534	8.400	6.039	9.891	1.414	.040	—	.239	.069	.142	.695	—	.133	.021	—	—	95.617
24	79.339	7.200	4.215	10.656	.356	.005	—	—	—	.014	.178	—	—	—	—	.069	102.032
25	78.599	9.000	4.623	8.990	1.186	.003	—	—	.021	—	.027	—	—	—	—	.160	102.609
26	65.064	8 400	7.572	11.470	1.000	.401	—	—	.019	.024	.918	—	—	.032	—	1.371	96.271
27	79.232	6.000	3.723	12.373	1.512	.537	.080	—	.184	.016	1.136	.212	—	—	—	.049	105.059
28	76.296	7.159	6.826	9.523	.690	1.954	.332	—	.227	.138	2.719	—	2 085	.634	—	.439	109.022
29	94.293	6.000	1.013	8.107	.881	—	—	—	.005	—	.054	—	—	—	—	1.974	112.327
30	64 283	8.400	2.775	11.343	1.392	.047	—	—	.069	.106	1.019	—	—	.037	—	—	89.471
31	66.454	8.400	10.534	11.133	.722	.030	—	—	.072	.048	1.780	—	.665	.053	—	1.013	100.904
32	67.749	8.400	11.442	11.772	1.414	.570	—	.016	.364	.260	1.308	—	.477	.032	—	.262	104.066
33	74.628	8.400	7.442	9.959	.640	1.468	—	—	.083	.027	1.197	—	.159	.032	—	.282	104.317
34	59.684	8.400	11.393	10,973	.879	.305	—	.212	—	.016	2.033	—	.069	.043	—	—	94.007

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APPENDIX II.—(*Continued*)

Expenditures of 48 Working Families in Six Months

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
35	94.793	7.200	3.573	10.303	.997	—	—	—	—	.011	.011	—	—	—	—	.102	116.990
36	92.040	6.000	7.667	10.077	1.844	.008	.610	.526	.005	.100	1.380	—	—	—	.069	3.509	123.835
37	99.862	15.000	2.956	12.441	1.627	1.204	—	—	.592	.032	1.205	—	2.281	—	—	3.593	140.793
38	60.491	7.800	7.509	14.569	.432	.106	—	—	—	.040	.551	—	—	—	—	.070	91.571
39	84.302	1.765	8.350	13.608	1.756	.196	—	—	—	—	.692	—	—	—	—	.127	110.796
40	70.627	8.400	17.651	14.205	.751	.483	—	—	.049	.027	1.146	—	.372	.032	—	1.091	114.834
41	113.201	9.000	7.596	9.536	1.265	.340	—	.327	.085	.179	.257	—	—	—	—	1.791	143.577
42	85.731	7.200	8.070	12.400	.781	.167	—	.085	.202	.027	.862	—	.743	.032	—	2.306	118.606
43	75.276	8.400	15.637	13.283	.995	4.149	—	—	.130	.011	1.464	—	.106	.032	—	2.411	121.894
44	123.729	6.000	6.000	7.358	.906	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	—	.435	144.491
45	116.130	7.400	6.822	11.669	.268	—	—	—	—	—	.053	—	.212	—	—	.999	143.553
46	108.820	8.400	10.488	8.800	.619	2.501	.053	—	.199	—	1.645	—	.106	.032	—	1.635	143.298
47	103.209	6.000	19.997	14.789	.767	.136	—	—	.455	—	1.104	—	.886	—	—	.231	147.624
48	111.181	6.000	31.835	15.164	1.600	.011	—	—	.111	.209	1.395	—	.530	—	—	.446	168.482

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APPENDIX IV.

Expenditures of 12 Families of Elementary School Teachers in One Month.

Family	Food	House Rent	Clothing	Fuel and Light	Water	Furniture and Utensils	Transport	Medical Expenses	Sanitary Expenses	Toilet Articles	Tea, Tobacco, etc.	Amusements	Social Expenses	Rates and Contributions	Educational Expenses	Postage	Sundries	Total
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1	11.167	2.000	3.042	5.415	.348	—	.997	—	.534	—	2 603	.900	1.338	.055	.337	.167	.323	29.226
2	13.019	4.000	3.750	1.915	.077	—	.038	—	.129	—	.236	.200	.274	—	2.043	—	.279	25.960
3	11.207	4.500	5.250	1.236	.142	.132	1.740	—	.653	—	2.649	2.196	2.538	.100	.268	.118	3.515	36.244
4	12.697	5 000	3.333	3.340	.671	.156	.181	.099	.504	.121	.148	.211	1.100	.027	.225	.175	1.263	29.251
5	11.714	5.000	7.083	2.710	.170	.066	.104	.184	.236	.290	.164	.356	—	—	.307	.233	1.505	30.122
6	19.887	8.000	6.850	3.345	.548	—	.488	4.237	.929	.530	.285	—	4.200	.199	.044	—	1.351	50.893
7	16.523	8.000	11.667	4.658	.219	3.572	1.949	.121	.797	.188	.827	.500	3.730	—	3.898	.230	.203	57.092
8	21.331	4.250	6.600	3.463	.329	.580	3.085	.865	.505	.504	.782	2.856	6.099	.027	.884	—	2.551	54.711
9	17.793	5.000	6.833	4.153	.230	3.153	—	2.723	.832	—	.466	—	1.500	.100	3.665	.307	3.187	49.992
10	33.847	6.500	8.000	6.167	.630	.199	3.786	.318	1.337	.557	3.737	3.738	5.496	—	1.143	.227	3.592	79.274
11	22.702	13.000	8.500	3.725	.899	—	.921	.523	.159	3.203	—	—	2.316	.041	—	—	5.232	61.221
12	27 349	7.000	7.250	9.663	.274	2.809	.471	1.500	1.072	.709	3.227	.110	3.964	.027	1.970	.180	.838	68.413

[For information on the detailed budgets of 283 Peiping families in 1926-1927, see pp. 44-337, category 116.]

HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEIPING

I

CHINA's new economic program stresses the need of a better life for the workers, but it has been difficult to discover just how the workers live, and what would constitute a better life for them, since only within recent years has any attempt been made to study the budgets of Chinese families. 114

The studies made before 1926 were based, as a rule, on information secured by interviews and questionnaires. The member of the family who had most to do with its financial affairs was asked to estimate the family income and the expenditure for food, clothing, rent, heat and light, and miscellaneous items during a month, or a longer period of time. The financial transactions of a Chinese working-class family are apt to be accurately remembered by them, since the amount of money handled is so small, and so much care must be exercised in spending. This fact makes it possible to secure reasonably accurate estimates of family income and expenses.

With growing interest in the economic life of the workers, however, need has arisen for the greater accuracy of family budget figures based, not on estimates, but on 511

511 complete written family accounts kept for six months or a year. Many well-to-do households keep such accounts, especially if several branches of the family are living together and contributing to a common treasury. All the contributors are interested in seeing that the money is properly handled, so the family treasurer is required to keep complete and detailed records. Some of these accounts have been secured and studied,[1] but they have not been available in any considerable number. Records of the income and expenditure of workers' families have not been available because the Chinese working classes seldom have enough education to keep accounts. Complete accounts, therefore, could be secured only if families could be found who would be willing to report their income and expenditures, day by day, for a period of several months, and if a method could be devised whereby outside help might be used to record the daily transactions for those families in which no one was able to write.

124 This is the report of such a study. Using personal contacts, beginning first with the friends of our field-workers, then working with friends of their friends, we gradually built up a group of Chinese families living in Peiping who were willing to tell what money they received and how they spent it. The first of these families were secured in June, 1926, and they began keeping accounts on July first. Others were added as they could be persuaded to join the group. Our first goal was 100 families, most of them belonging to the artisan or unskilled groups, and having incomes of $30 a month or less. We wished to include some families with larger incomes also, in order

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[1] No. 16, Bibliography. (All numbers in the footnotes refer to the titles in the Bibliography given in Appendix III.)

124 month; 110 families, 39 per cent of those studied, re-
434 ceived between $30 and $100 a month; and 38 families, 13 per cent, had incomes of $100 or more a month.

434 In order to determine how increased income influenced
● 511 family expenditure, the families were divided into 19
125 income groups. Below $40 a month, the range for each group was $5 a month—from $5 to $9.99, from $10 to $14.99. Between $40 and $100, the range was $10 a month; and between $100 and $200, it was $25 a month. The families with incomes between $200 and $300 a month were grouped together, and those receiving over $300 a month. The small-range income groups have been used for the low-income families in order to show the change in expenditure which is the result of a few dollars difference in income, and to allow for the large proportional change made by that difference. An extra $5 a month means an increase of 50 per cent for a family ordinarily receiving $10 a month, and a 15 per cent increase for a family receiving $35 a month. Larger range groups have been both necessary and advisable for the higher income families. Between $10 and $60 a month, the income groups had from 16 to 60 families each. The other groups were smaller, with 3 to 12 families in each. The number in each group is given in Table 2. It is recognized that 19 income groups is a large number, and that in some groups there are only a few families; but, because of the general distribution of the families and the results secured, it has seemed better not to reduce the number of groups.

124 As the families included in our study lived in different parts of the city, represented a wide variety of occupations, and, so far as we could determine, were a reason-

121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

436 The *Currency* in which income, expenditure and prices are given is Chinese silver dollars. Many items were paid for in copper coins and were so entered on the accounts. These have been converted to silver at the average silver-copper exchange rate for the month. Daily quotations secured from the newspapers and from exchange shops were used in figuring the monthly averages. The value of the Chinese dollar in terms of gold fluctuates constantly. The average rate for the year of this study was $1 gold=$2.25 silver.[6] In 1931, the rate was ordinarily more than 4 to 1, and for a short time even 5 to 1.

MONTHLY AVERAGE, SILVER-COPPER EXCHANGE RATE. RATE=COPPERS PER DOLLAR. ONE COPPER=10 CASH

1926, December	369	1927, July	391
1927, January	376	" August	392
" February	377	" September	388
" March	384	" October	376
" April	384	" November	372
" May	384		
" June	391	Average	382

434 *Current Expenditure* is the amount spent for food, clothing,
511 rent, heat, light and water, miscellaneous.

Current Income is the amount received from wages, rent, interest, miscellaneous.

Deficit appears on an account when the reported income, both current and capital, was not sufficient to meet the reported current expenditure. Under the heading "Deficit," enough has been added to the income side to balance the account. It has been treated as part of the family's capital income.

592 A *Family* is any two or more persons living together, but only two "families" failed to include two or more people akin to each other. The number in the family includes servants, children away at school, and any members of the immediate family whose work required that they live elsewhere in Peiping, such as boys serving their apprenticeships, men living where they worked. A husband, son, or other relative living in another city was not

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[6] No. 9.

The range of income of the families in the different
districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families 124
tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families 511
with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11
different police districts and outside two of the gates. So
far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

RACE AND ORIGIN

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Moham- 563
medan families in the group. It is estimated that the 162
population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in 167
Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

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[2] No. 17.

162 as the family income increases. The highest average
595 would be 7.8, instead of 8.6 persons per family. This increase in the size of the average family as income increases is generally found in studies of Chinese budgets.

Individual families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. There were four families with more than ten members; and 19 families—7 per cent—with more than seven members. The largest family consisted of 24 persons—a couple, their five sons, four daughters-in-law, nine grandchildren, and four servants. Another family with 15 members included a couple, their six children, the husband's mother, two of the wife's nieces, and four servants. A family with 11 members consisted of a couple, their seven daughters and one son (these ranging in age from four to twenty-one years) and a nephew living in the household and working as a servant without pay. Another family with 12 members consisted of a man forty-seven years of age, his second wife, eight children—four boys and four girls—and two servants. These families all had incomes of more than $125 a month.

There was one family of four persons in the $5 group; one of six in the $10 group; four families with seven members in the $15 group; one with eight in the $20 group; and one with nine in the $25 group. Only two of the 31 families with two members had incomes of more than $60 a month. Only one of the 26 families receiving more than $125 a month had less than four members.

511 Family needs for food, clothing, house equipment and the like vary as the result of differences in the number, age and sex of the persons composing the household. Several scales have been worked out to take account of these differences and give a common unit as a basis for

comparison. Some of these are the per capita unit, the adult equivalent, the adult male equivalent, the ammain, the household-size index. None of them is entirely satisfactory for our study, principally because they have been figured on the basis of living conditions in other countries, and not enough information is available concerning Chinese family needs and budgets to make it possible to determine how accurately these scales fit Chinese conditions. In spite of this difficulty, the food scale of the household-size index, as devised by the United States Department of Agriculture, seems to give the best available basis of comparison.[8] It allows for the differences in the food requirement of persons of different age and sex, and also for the variations in the cost of food that are due to differences in the size of the family. The unit is the requirement of an adult male, and is termed a "cost consumption unit." It is a more satisfactory unit than the family or per capita basis, and it seems to us better than the adult male equivalent that has been used in other Chinese budget studies. The scales for clothing, rent, household furnishings have not been used, nor has the household-size index been calculated.

In figuring the number of cost consumption units per family, allowance has been made, of course, for the time that any members of the family have been away from home, and also for the presence of visitors staying for any length of time. We did not attempt to determine the number of meals occasionally missed by each member of the family, or the number of guests for meals. It has been necessary to assume that these two items were so nearly equal that they would not make any appreciable difference in the food total for the year.

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[8] No. 45. For Scale see page 13.

The number of cost consumption units per family varied from 0.9 to 15. For the different income groups, the averages ranged from 2.3 to 5.8, as shown in Table 2. There is a clear tendency for the number to increase as the family income increased. The number was less than three for most of the groups below $60; between three and four from $60 to $125; and over five only in the two highest groups. From the spread of the graphs in Figure 4, showing the number of persons and the number of cost consumption units per family, it might appear that there was a tendency for the ratio of cost consumption units to persons per family to be smaller in the higher income groups. Such, however, is not the case. The number of cost consumption units tends to be approximately 70 per cent of the number of persons in the family, regardless of the size of the family income. There is some tendency for families in the higher income groups to have a slightly larger proportion of children, but this is offset in figuring the number of cost consumption units, because the servants are counted as part of the family inasmuch as the family furnishes their food. If the servants—virtually all of whom were employed by and living with families with incomes of more than $90 a month—are omitted, the children under sixteen years of age are 35 per cent of the average family in the income groups above $90 a month; and 33 per cent, or less, in all the groups below that amount.

336 of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

465 The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

462 None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

162 Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

● 511 Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

Christian religious observances, incense, paper money, paper gods, but even so, many of the families with Christian members reported such expenditure for the non-Christian members of the household. There was also a marked tendency among the Christian families to give more money to religious or welfare organizations than the non-Christian families did. Otherwise we cannot see that there was any special difference between these and the other accounts. The only evident influence of Mohammedanism was the omission of pork and a larger expenditure for mutton.

[127] 123 nature which would divulge trade secrets, all the archives of the two factories were open for his inspection. He was allowed to live close to the workers' dormitory, to mingle freely with them, and to take part in their social activities. And last, but not the least, the investigator was asked constantly and in particular after the completion of his study to make recommendations on extending and improving their welfare work. Such a solicitous spirit shown for the well-being of their workers, it must be admitted, is but rarely met with in factories in this country.

511 Readers will find the conditions of living of the workers fully dealt with in the different chapters of this book. Whether the living standard of the workers is adequate will, perhaps, be viewed differently by many, but, at any rate, it may be admitted that it can by no means be compared with that in the West, particularly with that in the United States. Nevertheless, in a review of Chinese labour conditions, it seems necessary, first of all, to give due allowance to the general low standard of living of the Chinese. Now if the majority of our people are living in a poverty-stricken state, and are visited periodically with natural and more frequently with social and political catastrophes, how can it be possible to expect the industrial worker alone to enjoy an abundant life? Indeed one finds in the modern cities of this country, a semblance of opulence and extravagant living such as is usually found in industrially developed nations, but we need not go far afield before we discover tens and hundreds of thousands of people living in misery and privation. What about the lot of the teeming millions of agricultural workers in the country who are compelled to lead an existence, precarious and pitiably poor? This, be it observed, is not to say that the worker should be satisfied with his present lot, and that the employer may treat him in any way he likes. What is here maintained is that every advance in the worker's well-being must be preceded or accompanied by an uplifting of the general living standard and that his material welfare cannot be treated as a phenomenon in isolation.

([illegible]) Again, it seems necessary, in the course of our discussion, to remember that there are also considerations other than labour.

124 fact, their houses were not even numbered and the rooms were invariably so small that the investigator could not possibly go in, while female inmates were there. Frequently their relatives or friends were asked to serve as guides, taking the investigator to the various houses. The time available for the investigation was rather limited, as the workers being mostly of the skilled class were generally only free at their respective homes from seven to ten o'clock in the evening. Needless to say, our purpose of making this investigation that was repeatedly explained to the resident workers had to be reiterated to the non-resident workers. It was a trying task to the investigator to have to listen patiently to the endless tales of the miserable families on the one hand and to be economical in time on the other, for any sign of impatience which he might show on his part would be interpreted to imply insincerity and lack of sympathy. Thus, the amount of time consumed in the investigation of one family was about one hour and a half which was often sufficient for investigating three resident workers. It may be argued that the time thus consumed might be spared, if the investigator could just call in those workers and question them instead of visiting them at their homes. But then it would deprive him of the opportunity to gain first-hand impressions on the living conditions of the workers at home. A careful examination of the home environment often disclosed to the investigator certain points which the worker either failed to report or failed to report accurately.

464 Irregularity of the Work.—With the exception of seventy-five
434 who were skilled, all the other workers in the factory were
511 constantly subject to change of employment, and, as a consequence, their cost of living must have changed also. Worker A, let us say, was engaged in salt manufacturing in March, and his expenses for food and clothing were rather high, as his income was increased to the amount of $4 or $5 a month. In June, however, he might be transferred to do the job of a watchman with a reduction of his wage and all his expenses had to be reduced accordingly. In November, he might again be called upon to pull coal cart. His expenses for shoes and socks might

be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for 464
him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost 434
of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and some- 511
times comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in 123
China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business 128
man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice

434 extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of gifts. It should be noted that the data of our investigation concerning the income and expenditure of the workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927, and such events, as the increase of wages or deductions of them due to leave of absence which occurred in the meantime, should, of course, be taken into consideration, in order to ascertain the exact amount of their income.

It will be seen from Table 21 that the income of the resident workers under investigation varied from $115 to $265 a year and the range of variation is $150. The table shows also the average income of each worker derived from various sources.

Three items, viz. wages, extra month's pay and general bonus, formed the most important sources of the worker's income, as they constituted, on the average, 85.4 per cent of the total income. It will be seen from the Table that they are particularly important to the workers of high income groups who, either on account of their skill or on account of their long terms of employment in the factory, received 96 per cent of their income from these three sources. Salt bonus, the next important source of income, is paid only to salt-refining workers, those engaged in subsidiary work, like the workers in the last two income groups of the Table, being denied the benefit of it. Its significance is shown particularly in the third and fourth income groups, in which salt refining workers predominated.

• 511 In studying the expenditure of the resident workers, it should be borne in mind that they were all "single," at the time of the investigation. About half of them had been married and had left their wives at home, but even those who had not been married had also to support families in their native districts. Thus what a resident worker earns is usually spent partly for his own living expenses, excluding house rent, at the factory and partly for the support of his own people at home. For the latter, a portion of his savings is remitted home from time to time

The amount of expenditure incurred by the various workers differs greatly and the reason for this difference is to be found first in personal habits and secondly in one's relationship, emotional or otherwise, with his family members. Some workers found entertainining of friends an important function, while others might like to spend their last cent on clothing. A strong attachment to parents or wife who happens to be in the country might make one spend his entire savings on his family or on travelling expenses to his home.

As shown in Table 22, the resident worker's expenses may be conveniently classified under five groups : (1) food (2) clothing (3) travelling expenses (4) social expenses and (5) miscellaneous expenses. Food expenses include outlay for regular meals and refreshments. Clothing expenses include sums paid for one's own dress, shoes and beddings. To those Chiu Ta resident workers who usually go home once or twice a year during festival holidays or who entertain friends and relatives, travelling and social expenses are, therefore, of special significance, and deserve separate classification by themselves. Miscellaneous expenses include all unclassified items. We shall now proceed to discuss the five groups of expenses in the order here presented.

Food was the largest item in the worker's budget, being nearly 63 per cent of the total expenses. The food expense of each group varied from $74.62 to $90.33 a year. One noteworthy feature of the food expenses among the six income groups is the fact that the decrease of the percentage on food expenditure did not follow closely with the rise of income as it should. Although the food percentage was around 62 per cent or 63 per cent for four of the income groups, yet it went up a good deal in the two groups of higher incomes, the fourth and the sixth. This rise of food percentage is due to the fact that the workers of these two groups were especially thrifty; they economised their living expenses, in order to be able to send money home. Thus, circumstances peculiar to these workers have upset the general tendency of the lowering down of food percentage vis-a-vis the rise of income.

Table 22.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 86 Resident Workers, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual expenses per worker
		Food	Clothing	Travelling expenses	Social expenses	Miscellaneous expenses	
$115 and under $140	23	$74.62	$20.98	$ 8.00	$ 7.86	$9.29	$120.75
$140 and under $165	35	76.97	17.87	5.65	9.98	11.40	121.87
$165 and under $190	21	82.28	18.28	4.80	12.90	14.10	132.50
$190 and under $215	3	76.28	14.75	—	10.64	7.04	108.71
$215 and under $240	3	90.33	25.93	2.00	14.81	12.10	145.18
$240 and under $265	1	77.80	13.80	1.30	6.40	13.66	112.96
All incomes	86	78.09	18.93	5.70	10.28	11.42	124.41
	PER CENT						
$115 and under $140	26.7	61.8	17.4	6.6	6.6	7.7	100.0
$140 and under $165	40.7	63.2	14.7	4.6	8.2	9.3	100.0
$165 and under $190	24.4	62.1	13.8	3.6	9.7	10.7	100.0
$190 and under $215	3.5	70.2	13.6	—	9.8	6 5	100.0
$215 and under $240	3.5	62.2	17.9	1.4	10.2	8.3	100.0
$240 and under $265	1.2	68.9	12.2	1.2	5.7	12.1	100.0
All incomes	100.0	62.7	15.2	4.6	8.3	9.2	100.0

511 The average annual expense for food was $78.09. After subtracting the average expense of two dollars for refreshments, the average expense for meals was then $76.09 or about $0.20 per day. Ordinarily a worker spends from $0.18 to $0.20 a day for meals, but in the case of night work or after serious exertion, an additional expense of 2 to 6 cents per day is needed.

146 As the diet of the workers is more or less standardized, it may, perhaps, be interesting to calculate the number of calories the worker usually consumes. The following three diets are commonly taken by the workers:[1]

1. Diet of an ordinary worker.

3 pieces of wheat bread (*manto*)	1270.92	Calories
3 pieces of corn bread	2042.82	„
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	„
Doughtnuts (3 pieces)	150.00	„
	3583.74	Calories

2. Diet of the worker of light or skilled work.

6 pieces of wheat bread	2541.84	Calories
Millet porridge (3 bowls)	120.00	„
Vegetables	200.00	„
Doughnuts	50.00	„
	2911.84	Calories

3. Diet of the worker of robust type.

6 pieces of corn bread	4085.64	Calories
Noodles (5 Chinese ounces)	623.00	„
Vegetables	300.00	„
	5008.60	Calories

It will be seen that the number of calories the resident worker consumes is from 2,900 to 5,000. The average number of calories yielded by the diet of the workers is about 3,500.

511 Clothing was the second important item of expenses. This item for all groups was $18.93 a year or 15.2 per cent of their total annual expenses. It varied from $17.87 to $25.93 a year.

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[1] The number of calories contained in the wheat and millet bread calculated according to the estimate of Dr. Hsien Wu, Professor of Bio-Chemistry in the Peking Union Medical College, is as follows:—

	Wheat bread	Corn bread
Weight per piece (average weight for the whole year)	3.4 ounces (Chinese)	5.3 Ounces (Chinese)
No. of calories per piece	423.64 caloaies	680.94 calories.

Like food, the lowest expense for clothing happened also in the 511 fourth and sixth groups. It is shown in the Table that workers of the first and the fifth groups spent a good deal on clothing. Of the first group which included mostly the workers in their first or second year, it may be said that they had to spend a larger outlay for garments and bedding than the old workers, but of the fifth group, the higher clothing expense was, no doubt, a result of improved economic conditions.

In analysing the clothing expense, it was found that garments represented 50 per cent and shoes and socks together 32 per cent of its total.

As the resident workers usually make visits once or twice a 511 year to their families in their native districts, travelling expenses 484 have, therefore, often become an important expense to them. It appears in Table 30 that the first three income groups all had high travelling expenses. It was found that there were 14 in the first group, 18 in the second and 8 in the third, who visited their homes during the year under investigation. In the fourth group, none of the workers incurred any travelling expense, while one in each of the remaining two income groups had visited home.

The reason for the difference of travelling expenses in the various income groups is to be found in the fact that workers with low incomes, being natives of distant places, usually visited their families once and sometimes even twice a year, while those with higher income, as a rule, came from Tientsin or Peiping and needed but little expense for travelling.

Social expenses included sums spent for entertaining 511 friends, gifts for festivals, weddings and funerals, etc. As social intercourse is considered an important function among the workers, expense for maintaining this function has, therefore, become a heavy charge to them. The average social expenses of the 86 resident workers amounted to $10.28 per person or 8.3 per cent of their total expenses.

Miscellaneous expenses included (1) regular expenses for such purposes as sanitation, amusements, and new year enter-

Table 23.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average annual expenses per worker for ——								Total average miscellaneous expenses per worker
		Sanitary expenses	Tea, Tobacco etc.	Amusements	New year entertainments	Utensils	Education	Religion	Wedding and funeral	
$115 and under $140 …………	23	$ 1.62	$ 3.15	$ 1.74	$ 2.37	$ 0.41	$ —	$ —	$ —	$ 9.29
$140 and under $165 …………	35	1.63	2.93	1.91	2.50	0.69	0.18	0.09	1.46	11.40
$165 and under $190 …………	21	2.06	4.05	3.35	3.90	0.79	0.07	—	—	14.23
$190 and under $215 …………	3	1.17	1.00	1.00	3.87	—	—	—	—	7.04
$215 and under $240 …………	3	1.85	4.45	0.40	4.67	0.07	—	0.67	—	12.10
$240 and under $265 …………	1	2.56	1.00	2.00	4.00	4.10	—	—	—	13.66
All incomes …………	86	1.74	3.23	2.13	2.95	0.64	0.09	0.06	0.59	11.42

tainments and (2) occasional expenses for utensils, education, 511
religion, wedding and funeral. They formed 9.2 per cent of the total expenses. Various items of the miscellaneous expenses, as shown in Table 23 varied from $0.06 to $3.23 per person per year. Of all the miscellaneous expenses, those for tea and tobacco headed the list. It appears that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, but it is noteworthy that tobacco is much more expensive than tea. Twenty seven workers had no expenses for recreation, but it is quite possible that such expenses were included in new year expenses. The new year expenses are those spent for food and amusement during the new year holidays. This expense is so characteristic of Chinese that it deserves to be classified separately.

Educational expenses were meant for buying books and stationery. Text books in use at the Workmen's School were not included, as they have been supplied free. Only four workers had book expenses, while 41 workers paid expenses for utensils. Expenses for religion included contributions for the celebration of the "Society of Abstainers" (Tsai-li-hui). Only two out of 86 workers had such expenses. Weddings and funerals are not common, as only two workers incurred such expenses.

It will be seen that the expense for tea and tobacco is the most important item, being 28.2% of the miscellaneous expenses or 2.6% of the total expenses. New year expenses come next, being one-fourth of the miscellaneous expenses. Expense for amusement comes third, being 18.6% of the miscellaneous expenses.

So far the income and expenditure of the 86 resident workers 434
have been dealt with separately without examining into the 511
question whether their income was sufficient to cover their 426
expenses. It is pertinent for us to look into this question and study the assets and liabilities of the 86 workers during the year under investigation. It seems that, in doing so, we have to look not only into their surpluses and deficits but also their remittances to home and borrowings. These items are now presented in Table 24. First, it is shown that 73 had surplus, with an average

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511
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Table 24.—Average Amounts of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing of 86 Resident Workers in One Year, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of workers	Average Annual income	Average Annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (−) for group	Number of Remitters	Average amount of family remittance of		Number of Borrowers	Average amount of Borrowing of	
				Workers having	Average amount	Workers having	Average amount			remitters	group		borrowers	group
$115 and under $140...	23	$ 131.31	$ 120.75	15	$ 21.22	8	$ 9.45	+$10.56	16	$ 27.69	$ 19.26	2	$ 22.50	$ 1.96
$140 and under $165...	35	149.46	121.87	30	33.99	5	10.77	+ 27.60	33	42.24	39.83	8	15.25	3.49
$165 and under $190...	21	175.85	132.50	21	43.36	—	—	+ 43.36	20	50.45	48.05	6	16.50	4.71
$190 and under $215...	3	194.56	108.71	3	85.86	—	—	+ 85.86	3	68.33	68.33	1	30.00	10.00
$215 and under $240...	3	219.33	145.18	3	74.15	—	—	+ 74.15	2	70.00	46.67	—	—	—
$240 and under $265...	1	258.15	112.96	1	145.19	—	—	+ 145.19	1	144.00	144.00	—	—	—
All incomes	86	156.33	124.41	73	39.37	13	9.95	+ 31.91	75	44.39	38.71	17	3.44	17.41

of about $40 ($39.37) each and 13 incurred deficits, with an 434
average deficit of $10 each ($9.95). The latter all fell in the 511
first two income groups, the earners of from $110 to $165 a year. 426
Those who had any surplus usually deposited all or a part of it in [454]
the savings department of the factory. It was found that of the 73 workers who had surpluses, 59 followed this practice. The average amount of savings per person was $12.36 a year, but the great majority of the workers had only small amounts to deposit. Thus 41 persons had saved less than $10 each in the year. It should be borne in mind that, in most cases, the deposits thus accumulated were meant to be remitted home.

The reasons for the deficit of the thirteen workers are two. 434
First, absence from work for returning home often results in 511
deficits, especially to those with low earnings. For during their leave of absence, the workers suffer a double loss, no income from wages during the leave and the charge of travelling expenses which should be paid out of their pockets. Secondly, wedding and funeral services are a heavy burden to the workers. Extra expenses are needed on these occasions, which must be met by loans, in the case of workers with low incomes. In either case, a deficit would be incurred in the year.

It should be observed that after their own living expenses family remittance becomes the most important charge to the resident workers. Whatever they can save, they send home to support their people; at times they had to borrow if the savings are insufficient. It is shown in Table 24 that 75 out of the 86 workers had all remitted money home. The average amount of remittance of each was $44.39 per year, but it appears that such remittances tended to increase in the higher income groups.

To meet the deficit, occasioned by the increased expenditure 426
for family remittances or travelling expenses, means open to the workers are either borrowing from friends or loan societies or pawning articles. Loans raised from friends are most common, while pawning of articles is very seldom resorted to. The amount of borrowing is usually low. It was found that 17 out of the 86 workers raised loans whose average amount was $17,41 each.

434 factory, they had to be assigned to a special group. The wage income of the different groups varied from $109.20 to $358.00 a year with an average of $141.56. The amount of general bonus of the 61 workers varied from $20.34 to $28.00 a year, with an average of $21.83 for all groups. This amount is a little higher than that of the resident workers, but the income from salt bonus is much less than that obtained by them. The reason is that there were few salt refiners among the principal earners of the families; in particular, all the workers in the high income groups being engaged in skilled work were not entitled to salt bonus. The commutation of gifts to the amount of $9 a year was the same for all workers. The amounts derived from the pay for working overtime and from gratuities were insignificant. It will be seen that among all sources of income, wages and extra month's pay are the most important as they constituted on the average about 70.9 per cent of the family income; the general bonus formed 10.1 per cent; and the rest combined formed but 8.1 per cent.

511 In analysing the family expenses, we have calculated the number of persons of the 61 families, according to Atwater's scale[1] into equivalent adult males. There are 5 kinds of expenses, viz., food, rent, clothing, fuel and light, and miscellaneous. As is shown in Table 35, the total annual expenditure of various income groups ranged between $160.96 and $513.54, the average amount for all the groups being $220.37. This sum is distributed as follows: food, $122.73, or 55.7 per cent; rent, $15.65 or 7.1 per cent; clothing, $20.95 or 9.5 per cent; fuel and light, $17.77 or 8.1 per cent and miscellaneous, $43.27 or 19.6 per cent.

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[1] The scale is as follows:

	Male	Female
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 and under 10	50	50
10 and under 12	60	60
12 and under 13	70	70
13 and under 15	80	70
15 and under 17	90	80
17 and over...	100	80

Table 35.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 61 Working Families, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average persons in family		Average annual expenses per family for—					Total Average annual expenses per family
		Total	Equivalent adult male	Food	Rent	Clothing	Fuel & light	Miscellaneous	
$130 and under $180	22	3.3	2.41	$101.77	$11.72	$16.14	$13.44	$17.85	$160.96
$180 and under $230	21	3.3	2.45	110.52	12.95	17.72	14.95	35.35	191.49
$230 and under $280	10	4.0	2.95	144.26	18.74	24.50	20.92	77.59	286.01
$280 and under $330	4	5.2	3.82	169.25	29.00	29.51	31.26	85.27	344.29
$330 and under $380	2	6.5	4.20	195.79	33.75	45.35	26.67	56.77	358.33
$380 and under $430	1	6.0	5.10	214.03	30.00	47.50	39.32	182.69	513.54
$430 and under $480	1	6.0	4.40	201.14	24.00	49.40	46.34	91.78	412.66
All incomes	61	3.72	2.74	122.73	15.65	20.95	17.77	43.27	220.37
	PER CENT								
$130 and under $180	36.1			63.2	7.3	10.0	8.4	11.1	100.0
$180 and under $230	34.4			57.7	6.8	9.3	7.8	18.4	100.0
$230 and under $280	16.4			50.4	6.6	8.6	7.2	27.2	100.0
$280 and under $330	6.6			49.2	8.4	8.6	9.0	24.3	100.0
$330 and under $380	3.3			54.6	9.4	12.7	7.5	18.3	100.0
$380 and under $430	1.6			41.7	5.8	9.2	7.7	35.6	100.0
$430 and under $480	1.6			48.7	5.8	12.0	11.2	22.3	100.0
All incomes	100.0			55.7	7.1	9.5	8.1	19.6	100.0

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511 262 Food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meats and refreshments. These expenses were obtained first by ascertaining the quantity of each kind of food consumed every month and then multiplying it by its average monthly price. There are six kinds of cereals in common use: white wheat flour, black wheat flour, corn flour, rice, millet, and green beans. For the poor families, black wheat flour and corn flour are the principal cereals, while only workers earning more than $20 a month can afford to eat rice. Appetizers of the poor families consist simply of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. Meat is seldom taken by the worker's families, except during festivals and new year holidays.

511 427 Rent is the amount paid for occupying the house. Where an occupant is the owner of the house, rent is estimated by valuation. Rent is very low in comparison with all other expenses. Three explanations may be offered for this phenomenon. First, some of these houses were bought by the factory and rented to the workers at an especially low rental. Secondly, in spite of the steady rise of prices in recent years, an old occupant of a house usually enjoyed the privilege of paying rent at the original rate and was not effected by its rise. Besides, some workers lived in the west of Tangku, where rent was usually half of what one should pay for a room in the sections near to the town. Thirdly, the size of these families is small, the average size being only 3.72 persons per family. Thus, a one-room-house would be sufficient to accommodate them all. Even those who had bigger families would prefer to stay in a small house and enjoy less comfort in order to reduce their expenses.

[342] 362 511 427 The worker's houses are generally built of mud with frail framework. Sometimes rooms are built around a ccurtyard accommodating from five to twenty families. Glass windows and brick floor are but rarely found in such rooms. Except those who lived in their own houses, each of these working familes only occupied one or two rooms. It is shown in Table 36 that the average number of rooms of the 61 families was 1.72 per family, the average number of persons per room was 2.67 persons or 2.05

Table 36.—Average Number of Persons Per Room and Average Amounts of Rent in One Year by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Average number of persons living in home per family		Average number of rooms per family	Average number of persons per room		Average rent in one year		
		persons	equivalent adult males		persons	equivalent adult males	Per families	Per persons	Per equi. adult males
$130 and under $180	22	3.27	2.37	1.18	2.77	2.00	$ 11.72	$ 3.58	$ 4.93
$180 and under $230	21	3.09	2.31	1.17	2.65	1.98	12.95	4.18	5.60
$230 and under $280	10	3.80	2.77	1.60	2.37	1.73	18.74	4.93	6.76
$280 and under $330	4	5.00	3.58	1.87[1]	2.66	1.90	29.00	5.80	8.11
$330 and under $380	2	6.50	4.20	2.25[1]	2.88	1.86	33.75	5.19	8.03
$380 and under $430	1	6.00	5.10	2.00	3.00	2.55	30.00	5.00	5.88
$430 and under $480	1	6.00	4.40	2.00	3.00	2.20	24.00	4.00	5.45
All incomes	61	4.80	3.51	1.72	2.67	2.03	22.88	4.67	6.39

[1] One family of this group occupied 3 rooms.

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362 511 427 equivalent adult males, and the average amount of rent was $22.88 a year per family or $4.67 a year per capita. Very few families could afford to live in two-roomed houses. The common way is to rent a one-and-half room house which consists of a kitchenet and a bed room. Sometimes two families may share a three-roomed house with 1½ rooms for each. Thus it is possible to do cooking in one room and sleep in the other. But it is also found that certain families live in one room where a kitchen stove is connected with the *kang*. This is not only uncomfortable but also far from being hygienic, since food is prepared in the bedroom.

511 291 The clothes the worker and his people wear are generally made of cloth. Imported satin is hardly used except in very few families with high income. Some poor families were found to buy flour bags from the factory and make them into garments.

511 372 Expenses for fuel and light include those for coal, reeds (a plant used for fuel in North China) oil, and water. Some families picked their own reeds and coal for fuel. The value of fuel for such families was estimated and included both in family income and in the fuel expenses.

511 Miscellaneous expenses are exceptionally high, as they include both ordinary expenses for sanitation, social intercourse, tea and tobacco, furniture, toilet articles, new year entertainments, religion and amusements, and occasional expenses for transportation, education, medicine, marriage and funeral service. Extra charge for marriage and funeral accounted, in most cases, for the swelling of the expenditure figures in the miscellaneous group. For instance, the marriage and funeral expenses of the family in the sixth income group alone amounted to $120 which is much higher than the miscellaneous expenses of any other group.

In Table 38, the income, total expenses and food expenses per family together with the total and food expenses per adult male are classified according to equivalent adult male groups. It may be noted from the Table that income, total expenses and food expenses per family increase with the number of equivalent adult males in family of each group, but food expenses per equi-

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Table 37.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year for Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual expenses per family for——												Total
		Sanitary expenses	Social ex-penses	Tea & tobacco etc.	Furn-iture & utensils	Toilet articles	New year ex-penses	Reli-gion	Trans-port	Amuse-ment	Educa-tional ex-penses	Medical ex-penses	Marriage & funeral expenses	
$130 and under $180	22	$ 1.21	$ 5.50	1.85	$ 1.55	$ 0.39	$ 3.38	$ 0.43	$ 0.56	$ 0.08	$ 0.12	$ 2.19	$ 0.59	$ 17.85
$180 and under $230	21	1.20	9.64	3.38	0.69	0.31	5.00	0.66	2.37	0.62	0.07	2.82	8.09	35.35
$230 and under $280	10	2.62	11.58	6.32	0.45	0.95	6.19	1.40	7.64	0.78	—	1.66	38.00	77.59
$280 and under $330	4	3.78	7.43	7.82	0.25	1.82	8.62	2.08	1.40	1.07	—	26.00	25.00	85.27
$330 and under $380	2	3.92	9.40	7.60	16.75	0.75	8.00	2.60	—	0.25	3.50	—	4.00	56.77
$380 and under $430	1	7.87	20.24	8.96	1.30	1.20	7.00	5.62	1.50	—	9.00	—	120.00	182.69
$430 and under $480	1	3.63	12.60	3.84	26.10	2.00	5.00	3.11	9.00	—	—	1.50	25.00	91.78
All incomes...............	61	1.85	8.53	3.82	1.88	0.60	4.98	0.98	2.71	0.45	0.33	3.76	13.38	43.27

511 valent adult male shows a steady decrease. We may perhaps generalize from this fact that as the size of a family becomes larger, its income and expenses tend to increase, but food expenses per equivalent adult male tend to decrease.

Table 38.—Average Annual Income and Expenditure Per Family and Per Equivalent Adult Male by Equivalent Adult Males in Family of 61 Working Families

Equivalent adult males in family	Number of families	Average annual income		Average annual expenditure		Average annual food expenses	
		Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male	Per family	Per equi. adult male
1.8–2.7	40	$194.37	$99.88	$185.68	$85.87	$105.41	$48.75
2.8–3.7	11	219.93	68.73	224.52	70.16	130.43	40.26
3.8–4.7	8	283.07	63.61	322.55	72.48	179.03	40.23
4.8–5.7	2	348.65	69.04	482.73	95.59	201.39	39.87
All groups ...	61	215.67	78.59	220.38	80.30	122.73	44.72

434 511 It further appears from Table 38 that the average amount of the yearly expenses per equivalent adult male is $80.30. This amount may be assumed as the minimum cost of living per equivalent adult male per year by which the economic standing of the members in the 61 working families may be judged. Thus those who earned more than this amount in a year may be considered as family supporters, those who earned less, partial dependents and those who earned nothing whatsoever complete dependents. Under such a system of classification, it was found that there were in the 61 working families 63 supporters, 35 partial dependents and 129 complete dependents. The distribution of supporters and dependents in 61 family is shown in Table 39.

There were 59 families where one principal earner supported from one to six partial or complete dependents, while the remaining two had each two family supporters.

It may be stated that the economic condition of a family depends on its income but to a great extent, also upon its size. Where two families receive an equal amount of income, the one of smaller size is surely much better off than the one having

many members. But it seems there is a general tendency that 434
where income increases, the size of the family usually increases 511
also and that its living conditions are somewhat lowered in spite
of the increase of income.

Table 39.—Number of Family Supporters and Dependents in 61 Families.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adult males	Number of persons	Number of equivalent adults
Family supporters	63	63.00	1.03	1.03
Partial dependents	35	28.20	0.57	0.46
Complete dependents	129	75.94	2.12	1.25
Total	227	167.14	3.72	2.74

Having considered the income and expenditure of the 61 families, we shall now study the question of their surplus and deficit. In general, it may be stated that many of these families were able to make both ends meet in ordinary times, but they would incur deficit under special circumstances when marriage or death occurs in the family. It is shown in Table 40 that during the year under investigation, 41 families had each an average surplus amount of $18.83 and 20 families had each an average deficit amounting to $51.51.

It will have been seen in Table 40 that many families in the 434
third, fourth and sixth groups incurred big deficits on account of 571
the heavy expenses paid for marriage or funeral. In order to 426
meet these deficits, the families had to resort to the following methods: (1) to make purchases on credit (2) borrowing, (3) pawning articles, (4) borrowing money from the loan society, (5) to use savings and (6) to sell property.

Among these, to make purchases on credit is the most 452
common. Such debts are generally paid as soon as wages are received at the end of the month. In case there is no surplus left to pay back the sum, payment is deferred until the end of the year when the worker receives general bonus and the extra month's pay.

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Table 40.—Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Borrowing and Pawning of 61 Families, by Income Groups

Income group	Number of families	Average annual income	Average annual expenditure	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for group	Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of—		Number of pawners	Value of articles pawned of—	
				Number of families	Average amount	Number of families	Average amount			Borrowers	Group		Pawners	Group
$130 and under $180	22	$163.72	$160.96	16	$12.42	6	$22.91	+$ 2.79	12	$21.08	$11.50	2	$3.00	$0.27
$180 and under $230	21	203.21	191.49	15	23.73	6	18.35	+ 11.71	8	23.12	8.81	—	—	—
$230 and under $280	10	253.17	286.01	6	25.24	4	119.96	+ 32.81	5	34.00	17.00	—	—	—
$280 and under $330	4	299.86	344.29	2	21.89	2	96.36	+ 37.24	2	113.50	56.75	1	40.00	10.00
$330 and under $380	2	360.72	358.33	1	4.91	1	0.13	+ 2.40	1	70.00	35.00	—	—	—
$380 and under $430	1	403.40	513.54	—	—	1	110.14	+110.14	1	30.00	30.00	—	—	—
$430 and under $480	1	430.00	412.66	1	17.37	—	—	+ 17.34	—	—	—	—	—	—
All incomes	61	215.66	220.37	41	18.83	20	51.51	+ 4.23	29	32.24	15.32	3	15.33	0.75

434 calculated according to what these workers actually earned. In case of absence, deductions from wages are made accordingly.

Table 52.—Sources and Amounts of Income in One Year of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income from—				Total average income per worker
		Wages	Allowance for working overtime	Extra month's pay	Gift commuted	
Mechanics	10	$232.52	$ 27.91	$ 18.38	$ 9.00	$ 287.81
Firemen	4	162.31	4.20	12.60	9.00	188.11
Assistants	7	110.01	15.92	8.34	8.99	143.26
Common workers...	29	97.62	12.77	6.87	8.94	126.21
All classes......	50	131.51	15.55	9.84	8.96	165.87
	PER CENT					
Mechanics	20	80.8	9.7	6.4	3.1	100.0
Firemen	8	86.3	2.2	6.7	4.8	100.0
Assistants	14	76.8	11.1	5.8	6.3	100.0
Common workers...	58	77.3	10.1	5.4	7.1	100.0
All classes ...	10.0	79.3	9.4	5.9	5.4	100.0

The income of the Pacific workers is most conveniently analyzed according to the kinds of work they do, as there are different scales of pay for each. In Table 52, it is shown that the average wage represents 79.3 per cent of the total average income and the pay for overtime work, 9.4 per cent. These two items together constitute 88.7 per cent of the total average income. The extra month's pay and commutation of gifts were, respectively, 5.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent of the total average annual income.

511 Table 53 shows the expenses for the following five groups: food, clothing, travelling expenses, social expenses, and miscellaneous expenses.

511 Food constituted 63.9 per cent of the total expenses. It was
262 the highest among the mechanics, 67.1 per cent, and the lowest among the common workers, 63.7 per cent. As has been mentioned

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Table 53.—Average Amount and Per Cent of Expenditure in One Year for the Principal Groups of Items of Cost of Living of 50 Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers *	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual expenses per worker
			Food	Clothing	Travelling expenses	Social expenses	Miscellaneous expenses	
Mechanics	10	$ 287.81	$ 87.63	$ 20.48	$ 1.61	$ 7.40	$ 13.39	$130.51
Firemen	4	188.11	82.20	18.40	11.76	12.78	11.89	137.03
Assistants	7	143.26	75.34	23.56	0.03	10.08	12.28	121.29
Common workers	29	126.21	68.31	20.34	2.62	6.58	9.31	107.16
All classes	50	165.87	74.27	20.66	2.79	7.73	10.75	116.20
			PER CENT					
Mechanics	20	....	67.1	15.7	1.2	5.7	10.3	100.0
Firemen	8	....	60.0	13.4	8.6	9.3	8.7	100.0
Assistants	14	....	62.1	19.4	—	8.3	10.1	100.0
Common workers	58	....	63.7	19.0	2.4	6.1	8.7	100.0
All classes	100	....	63.9	17.8	2.4	6.7	9.2	100.0

511 262 above, mechanics generally eat somewhat better food than assistants and the food cost of the former is about $1 per month more expensive.

511 The assistants spent $23.56 or 19.4 per cent of total expense a year on clothing, the amount being comparatively more than that of any other class of workers in the factory. They were generally young and paid more attention to their dress. Mechanics generally earned more income and were apt to spend more on their dress. Firemen, on account of the nature of their work, spent comparatively less on clothing.

While not many Pacific workers asked leave of absence for visiting homes, the number of such workers was especially small among those investigated. It appeared that only six mechanics had visited their homes, but as they were situated near Tientsin, the amount of passage money was naturally very small. Three out of the four firemen who went home spent about 9 per cent of the total expenses on travelling as the distance traversed was fairly long.

Social expenses did not play an important part among the Pacific workers. An ordinary worker spent on this item only $6 a year. There were, however, a few workers who spent more.

Miscellaneous expenses include those for sanitation, tea and tobacco, amusements, new year entertainment and utensils. The assistants had more sanitary and amusement expenses than other workers. The new year expenses corresponded rather closely with the income of these workers.

It appeared from the figures that, food, clothing, social and miscellaneous expenses were closely correlated with the income. Travelling expenses, however, usually vary not according to income but according to the distance between the worker's homes and the factory, and also the number of visits to home.

511 434 The assets and liabilities of the 50 workers are shown in Table 55. It is to be noted that two classes of workers, mechanics and firemen, were better off and incurred no deficit. In the other two classes, one assistant had a deficit of $5.43 and three common workers had on the average a deficit of $22.98.

Table 54.—Average Amount of Expenditure in One Year For Items in the Miscellaneous Group, by Classes of Workers

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenses per worker for—					Total average annual miscellaneous expenses per worker
			Sanitary expenses	Tea tobacco etc.	Amusement	New year entertainments	Utensils	
Mechanics	10	$ 287.61	$ 3.77	$ 3.94	$ 1.57	$ 3.15	$ 0.97	$ 13.39
Firemen.....................	4	188.11	2.72	3.40	2.37	2.75	0.70	11.89
Assistants..................	7	143.26	4.06	2.19	3.14	1.86	1.03	12.28
Common workers......	29	126.21	1.96	4.71	0.51	1.63	0.50	9.31
All classes	50	165.87	2.68	4.09	1.24	2.06	0.63	10.75

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Table 55. Average Amount of Surplus, Deficit, Family Remittance and Borrowing in One year of 5o Pacific Resident Workers, by Classes

Class of workers	Number of workers	Average annual income	Average annual expenditures	Surplus		Deficit		Average surplus (+) or deficit (—) for class	Number of remitters	Averge amount of family remittance of		Number of borrowers	Average amount of borrowing of	
				Number of workers	Average amount	Number of workers	Average amount			Remitters	Class		Borrowers	Class
Mechanics	10	$287.81	$130.51	10	$157.30	—	—	+ $157.30	9	$109.44	$98.50	1	$10.00	$1.00
Firemen	4	188.11	137.03	4	51.08	—	—	+ 51.05	4	59.25	59.25	1	10.00	2.50
Assistants	7	143.26	121.29	6	26.53	1	5.43	+ 21.96	4	16.25	9.29	1	20.00	2.86
Common workers.........	29	126.21	107.16	26	23.90	3	22.98	+ 19.05	23	30.13	23.90	5	8.00	1.38
All classes	50	165.87	116.20	46	55.60	4	18.59	+ 49.67	40	49.50	39.60	8	10.00	1.60

It was found that these three common workers spent more than 511 $30 on clothing, while the average amount for the 50 workers 434 was about $20. Moreover, their expenses for tea and tobacco were also much higher than the average amount. It seemed that of the four classes of workers, the mechanics were quite well off and each had $157.30 surplus. Next came the firemen, each having a surplus of $51.05. Even among the assistants and common workers, they had, on the average, some surplus, the former having about $22 and the latter $19 in a year. If we compare this group of workers with that of Chiu Ta with respect to its financial condition we shall find that the Pacific workers are much better off.

Family remittance is the most important item which consumes their surplus. Mechanics who had, on the average,, each a surplus more than $150 remitted to their homes about $110 each. The assistants remitted comparatively small sums of money to their homes. It is to be noted that the amount remitted by firemen and common workers exceeded their surplus. In such cases, the workers often resorted to borrowing. Of the 426 50 workers, only 8 borrowed money, the average amount being $10. Such kind of borrowing often comes from relatives or friends and no interest is charged.

Apart from the family remittance, three ways of disposing 426 the surplus are open to the workers: investing it in a co-operative 452 loan society, lending it to others or buying property. There are also three ways to make up the deficit, besides borrowing: namely, borrowing from the co-operative loan society, pawning and selling articles. Workers that resorted to pawning and selling articles to meet their deficits were so few among the Pacific workers that they do not merit our attention. However, 10 of the workers under investigation joined the co-operative loan societies.

434 It will be noted that the monthly wages of workers, although the most important item of income, only constituted 65.6 per cent to 79.3 per cent of the total income. The remaining 20 to 35 per cent was derived from other forms of wage payments, of which the general and salt bonus of Chiu Ta and the overtime allowance of Pacific were the most significant. Of course, the total incomes of the workers having families were not necessarily the total incomes of their families. The percentages of various items of income of the 61 families are as follows:

Principal earners	Other family member	Contributions of brothers and sons	Interest, rent and profit	Remittance from native place
89.1 per cent	5.8 per cent	2.6 per cent	1.9 per cent	0.6 per cent

511 Having been provided with dormitory and fuel and water by the factories, the resident workers of both the Chiu Ta and the Pacific factories were relieved from the expenses on these two items. The expenditure of the 197 workers studied should be treated in two groups, one for resident workers, the other for families of Chiu Ta workers. The following is the percentage expenditure of the 136 resident workers.

	86 Chiu Ta Workers	50 Pacific Workers
	per cent	*per cent*
Food	62.7	63.9
Clothing	15.2	17.8
Travelling expenses	4.6	2.4
Social expenses	8.3	6.7
Miscellaneous expenses	9.2	9.2
All expenses	100.0	100.0

It is interesting to note that the percentages of miscellaneous expenses are exactly the same for the workers of both factories. As the percentages on social and travelling expenses of Chiu Ta workers are greater than those of Pacific, the percentage of food and clothing expenses of the former are correspondingly smaller than those of the latter. Except a few mechanics and assistants who had organized groups for cooking better food, the common workers spent almost 90 per cent of their food expenditure on cereals, having only little left for vegetables and meat. It has been estimated by the investigator that the average number of calories yielded by the diet of the Chiu Ta workers is about 3,500, which is sufficient for a factory worker. In the miscellaneous group, expenses for tea and tobacco are the most important. It was found that more men indulged in drinking tea than in smoking tobacco, and the former is a much less expensive item.

The percentage expenditure of the 61 working families is as follows:

Food	55.7 per cent
Fuel and light	8.1 per cent
Rent	7.1 per cent
Clothing	9.5 per cent
Miscellaneous	19.6 per cent.

The food expenses include cereals, vegetables, condiments, meat and refreshments. Wheat and corn flour are most commonly used. The appetizer consists mostly of salted vegetables and shrimp sauce. House rents are comparatively low, because these working families lived in cheap houses which were either rented at a low rate by the factory, or situated far from the town. The average number of equivalent adults in one room is 2.3. The high percentage of the miscellaneous expenses is generally due to the heavy charges for marriage or funeral service. The non-resident workers have more items in the miscellaneous group than the resident workers, but their expenses for amusement, tea and tobacco are comparatively little.

As a rule, the earnings of the workers in the whole year were sufficient to meet the ordinary expenditure of the same period. In case of special expenses, the workers had to resort to borrowing. Out of the 197 workers investigated, 37 had incurred debts. Marriage and funeral service are responsible for deficits of both resident workers and workers having families, while travelling expenses and family remittance rendered one resident worker

511 falling into debt. The average annual amounts remitted home by each resident worker in Chiu Ta and Pacific were $38.71 and $37.60 respectively. Some of the 61 working families, instead of remitting savings home, depended upon contributions from brothers, sons, and other relatives at their native places to make both ends meet.

The findings of this investigation having been reviewed, it may be concluded that the working conditions and welfare work of the Chiu Ta and Pacific factories are quite commendable. The livelihood of the workers, as compard with that of workers in many other districts of this country, is indeed satisfactory, though there is still considerable room for improvement.